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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 10, OCTOBER 1986

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 10, OCTOBER 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## BROADEN THE SCOPE AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM IN THE PRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 1-5

[Editorial; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] "The press must become a combative organ..."(1) Following this guidance from Lenin, our party has attached great importance to the matter of criticism and self-criticism in the press, especially when it is the party that rules the administration.

President Ho always urged the press to use criticism and self-criticism skillfully as an essential and sharp weapon to help our party and people redress their mistakes, develop their strongpoints and achieve ever greater progress.

There have been many party directives and resolutions clearly pointing out the task of broadening the scope of criticism and self-criticism in the press.

"Depending on their nature and scope of activities, all central and local papers must (...), on the basis of firmly grasping all the general tasks as well as the specific tasks for each particular period of time, constantly conduct public criticism and self-criticism over the activities of various party, administration and mass organizations; of various professional branches and trades; and of various party cadres and members, and state officials in implementing political tasks, regarding this as an important feature of the combative character of each newspaper."(2)

Under the party leadership, we have for years conducted criticism and self-criticism in the press. More and more critical opinions, articles and criticism drives in the press have been able to generate considerable public interest and impact. Recently, there have been new, striking features in our press during a "self-criticism and criticism" drive in preparation for party congresses at various levels and for the 6th CPV Congress. A string of news items and articles in the central and local press on self-criticism and criticism and on the redressing of shortcomings has won the attention of a broad section of the masses. Greater attention has been given by the press to reporting on critical public opinions. Several units under criticism have written press articles in which they have accepted criticism and reported on

their corrective measures and the results obtained through them. A number of typical cases of wrongdoings have been exposed publicly. While serving the "self-criticism and criticism" drive in compliance with a directive of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat, our press has created a relatively strong public opinion in sympathy with and supporting the struggle to defend what is right and condemning and asking for correction of what is wrong and suggesting corrective measures. Although certain shortcomings and problems still remain, over the past few months the drive to broaden the scope of criticism and self-criticism in the press has been able to raise the combative character of our press to new heights and has brought us new experiences. This has once again testified to the fact that /broadening the scope of criticism and self-criticism in the press is a matter of the evolutional law of our press/.

In our society, the press is the voice of the party and also of the people. The press is a bridge that links the party with the people. The press is strong only when its opinions have become public opinions that widely support and defend what is right, new, progressive and positive and struggle uncompromisingly against what is wrong, outmoded and negative in the process of implementing party policies and lines. Public opinion constitutes a great strength. To create this great strength through press opinions, there is nothing faster, more sensitive and sharper than conducting criticism and self-criticism openly and widely with a public-minded spirit in the press.

Conducting criticism and self-criticism in the press is a form of democratic activity very necessary for the progress of our party, state and people. This is a method aimed at developing the people's collective mastery and insuring that all party and state viewpoints, policies and lines are thoroughly disseminated in all fields of activity and all aspects of life.

Criticism and self-criticism in the press, no matter whether it praises or blames, must serve a constructive purpose. Criticism and self-criticism in the press are aimed at improving political and spiritual singlemindedness in our society, insuring satisfactory implementation of our party and state policies and lines, improving all fields of activity, bolstering our combative strength, improving our socio-economic construction and management abilities, developing the people's collective mastery, helping our party cadres and members as well as our people achieve quick progress, thereby contributing to building new socialist men. Thus, there is no room in our press for ill-intentioned or dubious "criticism" that sows confusion and division, distorts or smears our regime, causes the leakage of secret information, or is motivated by individualism. Even when there is a completely pure and disinterested motive, we must know how to conduct criticism and self-criticism scrupulously, cautiously, objectively and meticulously, trying to insure adequately its ideological, honest, combative and public character in order to attain desired results.

/It is necessary to constantly broaden the scope and improve the quality of criticism and self-criticism in the press/. Apart from such columns as "Views from Readers" and "Welcome Criticism" or other concentrated columns in support of various major campaigns, each paper must actively formulate its own plans for broadening the scope of criticism and self-criticism in the press. Criticism must be conducted correctly and accurately. To achieve this, we

must first look at the whole situation and firmly grasp the lines and policies of the party and its ideological work in each specific period of time. In Vietnam, during the first stage of the period of transition to socialism, there are many issues, many people and many tasks to be honored as well as criticized. If we are inclined only to commendation then people will have to ask: if everything is fine, why are the economy and life still rife with difficulties and negative phenomena still widely prevalent? However, shortcomings and errors cannot overshadow all achievements and we cannot point out and criticize every shortcoming or error in the paper. Everything has its "limit" and so it is with commendation and criticism in the press. As a collective propagandist, a collective agitator, a collective organizer and a tool with which to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland, our press must exert its tremendously enormous effect on the thought and state of mind of the masses.

/Commendation and criticism in the press at present should be focused even more on economic and social issues/. When Russia embarked on the period of transition to socialism, Lenin urged the press to "talk less noisily about politics" and to "talk more and more about economic affairs." He, however, told it not to talk in the style of "general" discussions and "with an administrative and bureaucratic tone."(3) Lenin requested that the revolutionary press seek an understanding of "how the worker-peasant masses have /actually/ created /new things/," introduce in complete details the successes of various model economic units, and study the causes of their successes and their operational and managerial methods. Meanwhile, it must "blacklist" those backward economic units which, "after having been nationalized, still remain models of disorder, disintegration, filthiness, pillage and being good-for-nothing"(4) to enable the masses to compare the practical results of economic management among different units. According to Lenin, when labor organization became the "most momentous, fundamental and burning issue of the entire process of social life," the press was the first and principal means of enhancing the voluntary discipline of laborers and extricating them from old and ineffective work methods or from such practices as laziness and shirking work in the capitalist society."(5)

At present, our press should do the same and more: we want--and without further delay--to eliminate the mechanism of management characterized by bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, establish a system of socialist accounting and business, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore state order and law, insure true social justice for the people and clarify the ethical and spiritual values of our new society. In searching for our own way to advance to socialism under a special situation, we can hardly avoid difficulties and errors. However, we have done many creative things and conducted many successful experiments. In our socio-economic life, there have been specific and vivid examples capable of attracting and exerting a strong effect on the masses. These pioneering experiences in organizing production and life must become the assets of the people. Meanwhile, there are also corrupt practices that must be criticized in a straightforward manner and exposed to the masses in order to rely on public opinion to eliminate them. According to President Ho's teachings, it is also necessary for our press to "severely criticize the conservative work methods and any obstacle to progress in various tasks, correctly commend (without exaggeration) the achievements

that have been recorded, and 'remind' what remains to be done for further progress."(6) Our press must also "wage an actual, outright, and genuine revolutionary /war/, as Lenin put it, against specific persons representing bad behavior"(7); negative phenomena undermining state order and law; corruption, bureaucratism, authoritarianism, conservatism, sluggishness, laziness, irresponsibility and many other corrupt practices. Naturally, commendation should not be exaggerated and criticism should not be excessively harsh. More important is that commendation and criticism must be considered on the basis of scientific analysis and be aimed at realistically demonstrating the correct viewpoints, lines, standpoints and policies of the party and not only reflecting but also guiding public opinion to create a healthy public opinion necessary for the implementation of all political tasks in the immediate future.

To broaden criticism and self-criticism in the press more satisfactorily /press organs must have a strong contingent of personnel, realistic plans and measures, and especially a very high sense of responsibility/. It is quite difficult to make criticism and self-criticism in the press; especially while everyday life is beset with difficulties and the criteria for distinguishing right from wrong are not very clear. Nevertheless, we now have new favorable conditions. In our advance toward the 6th Party Congress, the great lessons of experience gained in the past have been pointed out by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh, and many major issues concerning socio-economic management have been assessed recently by the Party Central Committee Political Bureau. By firmly grasping the party's new viewpoints, closely following its guidance and carefully watching over the people's everyday life, we will be able to identify instances that should and can be commended or criticized. Naturally, each newspaper will make criticism and self-criticism as warranted by its nature and sphere of responsibility, but to insure that all this is done, first and foremost, for the common good and also for its own prestige, "/criticism/ must be made in a serious, accurate and responsible manner, and with back-up evidence. It is necessary to make criticism with a sincere and constructive spirit in order to 'cure the patient of the disease,' and we must avoid making criticism in an irresponsible manner."(8) Before writing a critical article, we must make careful investigation and study, and after publishing it, we must monitor its effect, report the progress achieved and review and draw upon the experience thereof.

However, the press organs alone cannot satisfactorily make criticism and self-criticism in the press. Since the press is an instrument of the party and criticism and self-criticism constitute a democratic activity sponsored by the party, not only /party committee echelons and party organizations should provide close guidance/ over criticism and self-criticism made in the press belonging to their echelons, sectors, localities and units, but /the entire party and people must also fully understand the party's concepts toward criticism and self-criticism, adopt a correct attitude and actively contribute to and help in making criticism and self-criticism in the press/. This is not a simple task. For normally, one likes being praised and dislikes being criticized. Therefore, beside individuals and units that seriously accept criticism, there are those which not only refuse to accept criticism but also seek to "blacklist" the critics, cause difficulties for the critics or the organs publishing the critical articles and so forth. What they actually do

is oppose the conduct of criticism and self-criticism, thus violating the principle of democratic activities in our party and society. When making criticism wrongly, the press must make self-criticism and admit its shortcomings. When faced with protests over correct criticism, the press must continue its struggle to the end. This is the proper way to go. President Ho on many occasions deplored the lack of propriety concerning the conduct of criticism in the press: the critics "fail to follow up on the matter," and the criticized parties "ignore the criticism" directed at them. "The cadres, organs and organizations subjected to criticism remain quiet, neither starting a self-investigation nor publishing in the press a self-criticism nor promising to correct shortcomings." (9) President Ho requested that criticism be followed by self-criticism and correction if shortcomings have indeed been committed: "Persons (whatever their position) and organs /subjected to criticism/ must be frank and modest. If the criticism is correct, they must admit their shortcomings in the press and resolutely correct them. If /the criticism is false, / they must give an explanation in the press. They must definitely not 'ignore' criticism, 'persecute' their critics,"..."and even worse, sue them in court."(10)

Our press will be unable to fulfill its tasks if we fail to cite good examples for everyone to follow and boldly criticize shortcomings and mistakes for everyone to avoid. In the current struggle against negative phenomena, in the entire process of doing away with bureaucratism-subsidization and shifting to economic accounting and socialist business, as well as in the whole period of transition toward socialism, a correct public opinion created by the press through the broadening of criticism and self-criticism always constitutes a great source of strength that, coupled with the power of the law, will guarantee our successes. Therefore, under the party's guidance, we must persistently broaden the scope and further improve the quality of criticism and self-criticism in our press.

"Broadening criticism and self-criticism correctly is a firm guarantee for the invincible strength of our party and state. To support and participate in the conduct of criticism and self-criticism is the obligation of every cadre, party member and citizen. Obstructing criticism and self-criticism constitutes a violation of party discipline and the state law.

Let all party committee echelons and all our cadres, party members and people enthusiastically participate in and support the drive to make criticism and self-criticism in the press."(11)

This directive of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau still remains full valid at present.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "The Problem Regarding the Press," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 270.
2. Party Central Committee Political Bureau Directive Number 197 CI/TU, dated 13 March 1972 on the need to "Broaden the Scope of Criticism in the Press."

3. V.I. Lenin: "The Problem Regarding the Press," p 225.
4. Ibid., p 225-226.
5. Ibid., p 212.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Van hoa nghe thuat cung la moi mai tran," [Culture and Arts Also Constitute a Front], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, pp 299-300.
7. V.I. Lenin: "The Problem Regarding the Press," p 223.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve cong tac van hoa van nghe," [On Cultural And Artistic Work], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 58.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "Van hoa nghe thuat cung la moi mai tran,"...p 304.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve cong tac van hoa van nghe,"...p 58.
11. Party Central Committee Political Bureau Directive Number 197 CT/TU...

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HIGHLY DEVELOPING AND BUILDING UPON THE POTENTIALS OF OUR COUNTRY IN EVERY FIELD IN ORDER TO STRONGLY DEVELOP PRODUCTION FORCES IN A MANNER CLOSELY TIED TO THE CONTINUED ACCELERATION OF SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 6,7

[Speech by Truong Chinh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, at the Special Conference of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front (24 and 25 September 1986) To Study and Contribute Ideas to the Draft of the Political Report of the 5th Party Central Committee of the CPV to be presented at the party's 6th National Congress of Delegates]

[Text] Dear elders and comrades,

The Communist Party of Vietnam is making urgent preparations for the 6th National Congress of the Party. On the basis of continuing to carry out the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution, building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, and continuing to implement the general line and the economic line set by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party, the 6th Congress will decide policies and tasks in order to further concretize these lines in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The 6th Congress will set the task of continuing to promote the three revolutions with the aim of highly developing and building upon the potentials of our country in every field in order to strongly develop production forces in a manner closely tied to the continued acceleration of socialist transformation in suitable stages and forms so that production relations are always compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces in every period of development.

For more than 10 years, under the leadership of the CPV, our people have waged a tireless struggle and overcome each difficulty caused by enemy attacks and natural disasters in order to maintain production and maintain our national defense and security, winning important victories in the process. But besides the achievements we have recorded, we have also committed serious shortcomings and mistakes in economic leadership. The policies and tasks set by the 6th Congress must have the aims of building upon the victories that have been won and taking determined steps to correct our shortcomings and mistakes so that the Vietnamese revolution overcomes the towering difficulties being faced today and continues to move ahead.

Dear elders and comrades,

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. This truth does not only apply to our people in their role as those who implement the policies and tasks set by the party, rather, as the masters of the country, our people must contribute and are fully capable of contributing ideas even in the process of determining these policies and tasks.

Profoundly aware of this, the CPV has organized a widespread survey of the opinions of the entire party, the mass organizations, the political and social organizations and all the people to enable them to contribute to the compilation and refinement of the draft of the Political Report that will be presented at the 6th National Congress of the Party. The purpose of this very important effort is to create the conditions for each one of us to directly participate in the process of preparing for the party congress by contributing ideas concerning the tasks of our country's revolution in the years ahead. These tasks are the tasks of the party and also the tasks of every Vietnamese. This is the significance of the Conference To Study and Contribute Ideas to the Draft of the Political Report of the CPV Central Committee, which is being held on this occasion at the initiative of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

Dear elders and comrades,

On behalf of the CPV Central Committee, I heartily applaud you for organizing this conference. Along with the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces, you will be expressing views in a frank, open and constructive spirit. I am firmly confident that you will contribute many important ideas and further enrich the draft of the Political Report of the CPV Central Committee.

At present, our Party Central Committee is working hard to assemble the ideas contributed by the various levels of the party, by mass organizations, assemble the ideas of cadres and the people, including those of many scientists, prominent personalities and intellectuals within and outside the party, of every citizen who is earnestly committed to the cause of revolution, to building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. This reflects the high spirit of responsibility of our people. While contributing ideas to the party that is leading them in the process of determining the tasks of the revolution, they also voluntarily devote their full efforts to performing these tasks. I can report to you that from the ideas that have been gathered and studied, many important and good ideas have been taken to augment and refine the draft of the Political Report.

Dao Duy Tung, member of the CPV Central Committee and head of the Propaganda and Training Department of the Central Committee, will present to you the contents of the draft Political Report so that you can study and contribute ideas to it. We very much hope to receive many worthwhile ideas from you for inclusion in this draft.

May your conference be a fine success. I wish you the very best of health and hope that you will devote the full measure of your spirit and energies along

with the people of the entire country to overcoming the difficulties being faced today and endeavoring to make our country prosperous and strong, bring comfort and happiness to our people and advance the beloved Vietnamese fatherland to socialism.

Elders and comrades, I thank you.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: CORRECTING THE WEAKNESSES IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF LAW IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 8-11, 20

[Article by Pham Hung, chief justice of the Supreme People's Court]

[Text] Only when there is strict compliance with the socialist system of law can the lines and policies of the party become reality and society be a society of order and discipline. Therefore, our country's Constitution stipulates: "The state manages society by laws and continuously strengthens the socialist system of law. All state agencies, social organizations, state personnel, the personnel of social organizations and each citizen must strictly comply with the Constitution and laws and wage a determined struggle to prevent and fight crimes and other actions that violate the Constitution and laws" (Article 12). Our Party Statutes also clearly record it as a task of the party member to set an example in complying with the law because, under the conditions of the party being the party in power, contempt for the law on the part of cadres and party members, particularly those who hold public positions and authority, leads to anarchy, despotism and arbitrariness.

To strengthen the socialist system of law, it is first of all necessary to discuss the matter of legislative work. During the past several decades, we have done a good job of writing the Constitution--our basic law--in a manner consistent with the strategic tasks of the revolution in each stage. The general line, the economic line and the policies of the party, the obligations and rights of the citizen and the makeup of the dictatorship of the proletariat as decided by party congresses have been reflected in the Constitution. Much more attention has been given to concretizing the Constitution through legislative work. As a result, the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party clearly defined a number of important laws that were in need of being promulgated. A number of laws and many regulations have been adopted. Included here is the completion of the Criminal Code, which marks a large step forward in legislative work in our country. The drafts of the Constitution, the Criminal Code and the (new) Marriage and the Family Law were presented to the people for their opinions, a process through which the people were also educated in the law. The Council of Ministers has issued many decrees and decisions concerning important matters in the management work of the state, including decisions on dismantling the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and

replacing it with a mechanism based on economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Despite the progress that has been made, legislative work still does not meet requirements. Generally speaking, it takes several or many years to research and enact a law. Some laws have been recorded in the legislative agenda but because research takes so long, they cannot be enacted when planned. Instructions and regulations concerning the enforcement of laws have also been promulgated slowly. The cause of this situation is that our legal research organization is still weak. The Council of Ministers also has not given its attention to observing and supervising legal research.

In recent years, in conjunction with the promulgation of laws, our party and state have given much attention to preventing and fighting crime and other acts that violate the law. The Council of Ministers has issued regulations on many measures concerning administrative management and prosecution and concerning guaranteeing the right of the people to file complaints and initiating legal proceedings. The education of the people in the concept of law has been intensified, particularly through the drafting of the Constitution, the Criminal Code and the recently promulgated important laws and regulations. The inspection agencies, public security forces, organs of control and courts have also made many efforts in the struggle against crime. We have, therefore, won some important victories. Despite the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country, we have begun to defeat their schemes and have firmly maintained political security. We have harshly punished elements within the exploiting class who have refused to be re-educated, persons who specialized in speculation, black marketing and the manufacture of fake goods, professional hoodlums and degenerate and deviant cadres who engaged in embezzlement, accepted bribes and conspired with speculators to siphon goods from the state onto the free market, thereby helping to maintain social order and safety.

However, the results achieved in the struggle to protect the economy and maintain social order and safety are still limited. From the standpoint of crimes and other violations of the law, the situation is still serious and complex.

Many state agencies are still providing management that is lax. Not only that, they sometimes do things that are serious violations of the law, such as intentionally violating policies, setting up slush funds and engaging in illegal businesses in order to share profits. Policies and regulations aimed at eliminating bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies are being promulgated slowly. Some mistakes have also been made in concretizing the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum on prices, wages and money. These are the reasons why crimes and other violations of the law have increased or are being stopped slowly. The fact that some cadres who hold public positions and authority who have violated the law but not been promptly or appropriately prosecuted has adversely affected the confidence of the people. Inspection agencies, public security forces, organs of control and the courts have also committed shortcomings. Generally speaking, the investigation and prosecution of crimes are still slow in many cases. In some cases, the penalties handed down to persons who have committed serious crimes have not been sufficiently

harsh, consequently, the educational and deterrent effects of penalties are still weak. The enforcement of verdicts is not being closely inspected and supervised and some legally binding verdicts have not been enforced.

Our subjective shortcomings have reduced the effectiveness of state management, reduced the people's confidence in the leadership of the party and management of the state and made the social order and safety situation worse and more complicated at certain places and times.

In the face of this situation, stabilizing the socio-economic situation is a matter of pressing importance if we are to generate among the people an atmosphere of greeting the party congress with enthusiasm and implementing its resolutions, thereby continuing the advance of our country's revolution. Therefore, in the immediate future as well as over the long-range, we must continue to increase the effectiveness of the state and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in every field. In this regard, we feel that the following several jobs must be performed well:

1. Although our country's laws are incomplete, we do not lack laws to the extent that we are unable to maintain the discipline and order of society. Therefore, positive steps must be taken to teach the people the concepts of obeying the law and struggling to defend the law because, if the people lack these concepts in any way, it is difficult to maintain the discipline and order of society.

The realities of life show that a politically aware person whose thinking and ethics are good readily knows which kinds of behavior are wrong even though he might not know much about the law. Therefore, it is necessary to intensify political and ideological education and the teaching of the law through appropriate ways and subject matter in order to enable cadres and the people to gain a clear understanding of the policies of the party and laws of the state, strictly comply with the law and know how to struggle against violations of the law. Through the mass media, the activities of party organizations, administrations and social organizations, the programs of instruction at schools, the activities of clubs and so forth, we must bring about a new change in the work of propagandizing and teaching the law among the people.

To strengthen the people's confidence, complaints and accusations filed by the people must be examined seriously and quickly and the practice of pushing these cases from one agency to another and sometimes even overlooking them must be stopped. Mistakes by cadres must be appropriately prosecuted and measures must be enacted to protect persons who accuse them. Persons who abuse their public position and then retaliate against the person who accuse them must be harshly prosecuted. At the same time, undesirable elements who falsely accuse and slander cadres and cause internal divisions must be prosecuted appropriately.

2. When talking about the socialist system of law, we are talking about the state providing management by means of and in accordance with the law. All cadres and personnel of the state, regardless of their level, must act on the basis of the law. Each citizen must "live and work in accordance with the

Constitution and the law." And, we must have a complete system of state law, one consisting of economic law, financial law, labor law, criminal law, civil law, marriage and the family law, administrative law, etc. The laws of our country are not complete; therefore, a very large effort must be made in legislative work. If laws are lacking, the state cannot provide close management, state cadres and personnel become prone to do things as they see fit and the interests of the state and the citizen also cannot be fully protected.

Legislative needs in our country are very large. Because our country is advancing from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, there are many fields in which we have yet to enact laws and do not have the practical basis needed to draft laws that many fraternal socialist countries have. Our country is currently only in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. This characteristic must be taken into full consideration when drafting laws in our country. In particular, our laws must reflect those matters that are in the nature of principles in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland in the present stage. Recently, our party pointed out that we have committed the shortcoming of being subjective and impetuous by enacting policies and measures that are not consistent with principles or compatible with the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country. This is also a matter that must be given full attention when drafting and enacting laws. Lenin pointed out that the level of development of the law cannot be higher than the level of development of the economy and that "the use of hastily conceived and imprudent legislative or administrative measures"(1) only prolongs the process of transforming the economy and causes many difficulties to be encountered in socialist construction. At the same time, in light of this reality, we must carefully weigh the problems we face and determine which should be solved first, which can be solved later and even determine the extent and form of the legal documents through which these problems will be resolved.

In the upcoming legislative agenda, in addition to economic and labor laws, we also feel that it is necessary to quickly complete the Code of Criminal Procedure because, without this code, regular procedures cannot be established in investigative work, prosecution, trials and the enforcement of verdicts in order to insure the enforcement of the Criminal Code. Articles of civil law are also very necessary because civil law deals with everyday matters related to the property of the people, contract relations of all types, etc. We lack the conditions needed to immediately draft a code of civil law because we lack the full basis in practice that is needed concerning many matters of civil law. Consequently, we should only establish the general principles of civil law and civil procedure, as was the experience of some socialist countries during the early years following the success of their revolution.

The legislative apparatus must include specialized cadres so that they can devote much time to this work. Leadership cadres from the related sectors must also participate from the very outset and help to resolve problems concerning specific activities. When drafting laws, it is necessary to conduct investigations, conduct reviews and hold widespread collective discussions. Disagreements must be promptly resolved by the authorized level.

The Council of Ministers must routinely guide, observe and supervise legislative work so that draft laws can be promptly presented to the National Assembly or Council of State for a decision.

3. The struggle against violations of the law is a long-range effort because, in essence, it is a reflection of the struggle between the enemy and ourselves and the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the transformation of the old society and the building of the new. In the current situation, this is also a matter of pressing importance in maintaining national security, protecting the economy and maintaining social order and safety.

The realities of the past several decades have proven that we cannot simply employ compulsory or educational measures in the struggle against violations of the law but must combine economic, educational and compulsory measures. The policies, rules and regulations of the state must be widely propagandized and explained among the people. In cases involving violations of the law, the following provision of the Constitution must be correctly implemented: "Each action that is a violation of the interest of the state or the collective and the legitimate rights of the citizen must be prosecuted in accordance with the law" (Article 127). Anyone who commits these actions must be prosecuted, be they an ordinary citizen or a person who holds public position and authority, because our country's Constitution stipulates that "each citizen is equal in the eyes of the law."

It must be clearly established that each agency of the state and social organization has the task of struggling against violations of the law. This should not be considered the task only of public security agencies, organs of control and the courts. Depending upon their seriousness and the harm they cause, violations of the law can be dealt with through internal disciplinary channels or by administrative measures or can be prosecuted in court. However, if a crime has been committed, the case must be turned over to the organ of control for investigation and may not only be dealt with administratively within agencies and social organizations.

Within the state apparatus, the public security agencies, organs of control and courts must be the effective instruments of dictatorship. Facts have shown that if these agencies operate in a way that is lacking in accuracy and caution, very serious mistakes will occur such as guilty persons going free, innocent persons being unjustly accused, illegal arrests or searches being carried out, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to always heighten the spirit of responsibility of the cadres of these agencies and cultivate through training their knowledge of legal matters and their job experience. It is also necessary to regularly inspect their work and be determined to harshly prosecute those who engage in misappropriation, accept bribes or display a lack of responsibility in their work, thus causing serious harm to the state or the people.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 291.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: STRENGTHENING SOCIO-ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW IN THE NEW SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 12-15

[Article by Phan Hien]

[Text] During the past 5 years, in keeping with its function of codifying in law the lines and policies of the party and the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, our state has promulgated a rather large number of important laws and regulations concerning the organization of the system of state agencies and the management of some aspects of the economy, society, security and national defense. Foremost among these is the Criminal Code--our country's first code of law--which is now having the effect of protecting the political and social system, protecting the economy, maintaining security, national defense and socialist order and upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people. A large volume of legal documents of the Council of Ministers, the ministries and the provincial and municipal people's committees has been promulgated to concretize and insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations of the state. These have played a definite role in regulating economic and social relations in the initial stage of the period of transition against the background of a socio-economic situation that is still undergoing complex changes and is unstable and regulating the economic forms of transition that are now in the experimental stage and have yet to become stable, universal models.

The drafting of laws has gradually been reorganized and improved and experience has been drawn from practice in order to gradually improve the quality of laws and regulations. Attention has begun to be given to strengthening legal agencies. These agencies have made efforts to fulfill the function, authority and responsibilities assigned to them.

Progress has been made in propagandizing and teaching the law. We have begun to awaken in cadres and the people a desire to gain an understanding of the law and the sense of respecting the law. Public opinion at many places has demanded that legal agencies harshly punish actions that are crimes and other violations of state law.

Inspection and control work has been improved in the field of compliance with the law. There have been speedier trials of crimes and other violations of

the law, particularly since the issuance of Directive 133 of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Party Secretariat Directive 84 on the strict prosecution of violations of criminal law and the proper punishment of criminals and anyone who violates the laws of the state.

However, state discipline and the socialist system of law are still lax and are not being strictly enforced. Complex developments continue to occur in the situation surrounding crimes and other violations of the law and there have been many very serious cases in which harm has been caused to production, to distribution-circulation, to social order and safety. Negative economic, cultural and social phenomena have not been effectively thwarted and are showing signs of becoming widespread. The enemy has intensified their economic and ideological sabotage. This situation has exacerbated our already unstable socio-economic situation and adversely affected the lives of cadres and the people.

Legal agencies have made efforts to investigate, prosecute and try crimes and other violations of the law. Generally speaking, however, they have not fulfilled their assigned function or fully exercised their authority. They have not promptly uncovered or investigated violations of criminal law or quickly tried cases that have been brought to light. Many serious cases have been allowed to drag on, thus causing indignation among the people. The activities of the various legal sectors have not been closely coordinated. The cadre ranks of legal agencies are still thin and the knowledge that these cadres possess of the economy and economic management is still limited. At the same time, state management cadres and economic management cadres lack the necessary knowledge of the law. We still lack a well-coordinated, dynamic, systematic and effective mechanism for insuring that the law is correctly implemented. Political, economic, educational, administrative, organizational and legal measures are not being employed in a well coordinated manner to insure the implementation of the law in everyday life.

In the field of economic management, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has still not been completely dismantled. The new economic management mechanism has not been clearly established. Many aspects of economic management based on the new mechanism are still in the stage of experimentation. In such a situation, it is hard to avoid objective difficulties and problems when drafting economic laws to support the new management mechanism. However, from a subjective standpoint, we have also been slow to act in some respects and have not closely tied our efforts to the process of revamping management in order to solve the existing problems in current systems. As a result, management policies are still a patchwork that lacks coordination. The causes of this situation are the lack of close coordination between the adoption of specific economic policies and the codification of these policies, the limited skills of cadres and their failure to see the need for timely laws to implement the new economic management mechanism.

Together with researching the adoption and coordinated implementation of urgent measures aimed at stabilizing prices, wages and the monetary situation in accordance with the conclusions reached by the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the various sectors and levels are actively implementing

Resolutions 31 and 306 of the Political Bureau and the important regulations of the Council of Ministers codifying the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau on revamping the management of industry, guaranteeing the autonomy of basic economic units in production and business, managing materials and inspecting the use of materials, managing the market and prices, including managing imports, etc.

The responsible agencies are urgently drafting and refining the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Marriage and the Family Law, regulations on administrative penalties, a law on investments by foreign countries and the other regulations on the agenda. Urgently needed legal documents of the Council of Ministers and the various ministries are being drafted so that they can be promulgated at an early date to augment the current system of law, which is inadequate and lacking in coordination.

The various legal sectors are accelerating the implementation of Directive 133 and Directive 84 in accordance with their functions and authority and mobilizing the combined strength of the state and the law to properly punish violators of criminal law and any person or unit of any sector or level that violates other laws of the state. The key to implementing these two important directives is to arrange for the speedy trial of cases involving violations of the Criminal Code that are serious from the standpoint of the economy and society, especially cases involving speculation and black marketing in strategic materials and goods of the state, major cases of embezzlement of socialist property and cases that involve siphoning materials and goods to private merchants, arbitrarily raising the prices of materials and goods in order to earn an illegitimate price differential, allowing serious amounts of materials to be lost or to disappear and causing major losses to the state, allowing materials to pass through the hands of many echelons instead of being delivered directly to producers...

The legal agencies on the central and local levels are working together to determine which cases are of key importance in order to bring them to trial immediately; organize efforts to uncover new serious cases; and increase the public reporting of the results of criminal trials and the administrative prosecution of violations of state discipline.

The draft of the Political Report to be presented at the 6th Congress of the Party stresses that the position that we must further strengthen the socialist system of law is correct and consistent with the principle of strengthening our proletarian dictatorship state. This is a matter of utmost importance and urgency in truly increasing the management effectiveness of our state. Our state apparatus must be fully capable of codifying lines and policies in the forms of laws, fully capable of providing administrative-economic and production management in accordance with the new mechanism and coordinating socio-economic activities throughout society in exact accordance with the law, thus maintaining state discipline and social order.

To implement this position well, we feel that those who are engaged in legal work must concern themselves with the following several matters:

1. They must stress and confirm the views that socialist laws are needed in order to build socialism and that the implementation of the new management mechanism must be guaranteed by the law. The increasing refinement, coordination and observance of the socialist system of law is an exceedingly important factor in strengthening the proletarian dictatorship state.

We are implementing the policy on revamping our economic management in the direction of dismantling the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to socialist accounting and business practices; guaranteeing the autonomy of basic economic units in production and business; maintaining the centralized and unified management provided by the central level; combating bureaucratic centralism, liberalism, the lack of organization and discipline, partiality and localism; and upholding the principle of democratic centralism. This new management mechanism attaches foremost importance to economic measures but also does not give light attention to legal measures. Therefore, laws must deeply reflect the views of the party with regard to revamping the mechanism and managing the economy. Legal documents must be specific and clear. They must truly guarantee the autonomy of basic economic units in production and business; not permit the ministries to take over or intervene in trivial ways in the operations of basic units; and clearly define the obligations and responsibilities of basic units and economic management cadres. At the same time, there must also be a sufficient number of legal documents that define and guarantee the centralized, unified management authority of the central level. Every cadre and party member, particularly state management and economic management cadres, must be deeply imbued with the thinking that economic and social management must be provided in accordance with the law and must turn this thinking into practical everyday actions.

2. They must actively work to develop and perfect the system of law in a way that is well focused, practical and selective. Efforts must be concentrated on those matters that are most pressing and necessary, with these matters being closely tied to the economic, social, security and national defense tasks of each period. The performance of this work must be fully based in science and practice. It must be conducted in accordance with the new thinking, under the close leadership and guidance of the Party Central Committee and under the close, unified management of the Council of Ministers. It must involve the review of recent experiences drawn from practice and be closely linked to re-examining and refining existing laws, with careful consideration given to socio-economic conditions and attitudes when implementing laws. It must be performed in a way that is synchronized and well coordinated among the various components.

In the years ahead, major documents in the economic field will be the focal point of legislative work. These documents will deal with the overall economic management mechanism; the national financial policy; export-import policy; the continued refinement of the mechanism guaranteeing the autonomy of basic economic units in production and business; the management of the market and prices; the socialist transformation of agriculture and private industry and commerce, etc. At the same time, a number of other legal documents will be drafted regarding criminal prosecution, civil law, administrative penalties, land and labor, the maintenance of security, national defense and

social order and safety and the protection of the right of collective ownership and the democratic freedoms of the people defined within the Constitution.

3. On the basis of revising their thinking, they must guide the establishment of a mechanism for implementing the law correctly and effectively. This mechanism should consist of many necessary measures and be participated in by many forces on the basis of mobilizing the combined strength of all sectors, levels and mass organizations, of youths, women, the Front and the broad masses to participate in organizing and insuring the implementation of the law in everyday life at every place and every basic economic unit. Through such a mechanism, every person and unit can make the principles and stipulations of the law part of their everyday work and actions.

4. As observed above, legal agencies are being strengthened slowly. Many agencies still have not adopted immediate or long-range cadre planning. Legal cadres are in short supply and their qualifications are weak, particularly in the areas of general skills and knowledge. Therefore, the training of legal cadres, which includes the training of state management cadres and economic management cadres in knowledge of the law, is an essential requirement. In this training, we must invest intellect and materials, invest the concern and attention of the Party Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the various sectors and levels. This training must be under close and unified leadership and guidance so that the organization of legal agencies is quickly strengthened and these agencies are fully capable of performing the task assigned to them by the party and state. If state management cadres and economic management cadres are trained in knowledge of the law, they will surely be able to manage the economy and society in accordance with the law better and meet the new demands of life.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: FIRMLY MAINTAINING NATIONAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ORDER AND SAFETY IN THE NEW SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 16-20

[Article by Tran Dong]

[Text] The cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland is being carried out against the background of an international situation and regional situation that are undergoing many complex changes. Our country's socio-economic situation continues to be one of many difficulties. Social order and safety are not truly being maintained. The enemy continues to carry out schemes and acts to oppose and attack our country in many different fields through increasingly sophisticated and cunning tactics, all with the aim of weakening us in every field in order to annex our country. Through their spy war, acts of ideological and economic sabotage...the enemy hopes to infiltrate the interior of our country, infiltrate our internal organization in order to commit sabotage, foment insurrection and topple us from within and combine "internal insurrection and external attacks" when the opportunity arises. Besides their schemes and acts of sabotage against our country's revolution, the enemy has also involved various types of lackey reactionaries in activities to oppose and attack the Cambodian revolution and the Lao revolution. The U.S. imperialists are working with their lackey allies to implement their Asia-Pacific strategy. All these hostile activities prove that the strategic designs of China and the U.S. imperialists against our country have not changed.

The most basic, most decisive factor in winning victory over hostile schemes and activities against our country is for us to achieve the combined strength of the country and make our country stronger in every respect. This is the strength of "making the people our base." It is a strength created by political-moral, economic, scientific, cultural, social, security, national defense and other factors in the process of carrying out the socialist revolution. It is the strength of the nation combined with the strength of the special alliance among the three countries of Indochina and the strength of cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

One exceedingly important task in winning victory over the enemy is the need to maintain national security and social order and safety in every situation.

Our strategic guidelines in the struggle being waged on this front are to build the internal organization of the party, the state, the armed forces, the mass organizations...so that they are truly pure, solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally; firmly maintain internal security; prevent and combat the activities of spies; overcome each negative internal phenomenon; and wage an effective struggle to defeat each scheme and action of the enemy to infiltrate our organization, commit sabotage, foment insurrection and bring us down from within, thereby helping to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The struggle to maintain national security and social order and safety must be carried out in accordance with the following strategy: closely combining defensive and offensive measures in order to win victory over the enemy and other criminals. Defensive measures essentially involve building an internal organization that is pure, solid and strong at basic units, preventing large problems by taking action when problems are small and expelling degenerate and deviant elements from our internal organization. Only by mounting a solid defense can we acquire the conditions and strength needed to attack the enemy continuously and effectively. Conversely, only by attacking the enemy more sharply and effectively can we create the conditions needed to strengthen our internal organization.

In the years ahead, efforts to maintain security and order must focus on the following basic requirements and measures:

#### 1. Building a Truly Pure, Solid and Strong Internal Organization

At present, some basic organizations of the party and state, units of the armed forces and mass organizations are less than pure, solid and strong in many fields, particularly economic and social organizations. Widespread and negative phenomena have opened loopholes and caused a serious lack of vigilance, which the enemy and other criminals are using to sabotage us. This is a primary reason why socialist social order has been strengthened slowly and why social discipline and compliance with state laws are still lax. Whereas the majority of the persons violating socialist property were once hoodlums and thieves outside agencies and enterprises, during the past 10 years (1975-1985), the situation has been just the opposite: the majority of the persons committing crimes against socialist property have been cadres, manual workers and civil servants. It is in the state economic sector, particularly in capital construction, that the greatest waste occurs. The sectors and basic units of the state-operated economy are also important sources of disorder and disruptions in circulation-distribution, prices, monetary activities and the market. Why is it that 80 to 85 percent of the goods on the free market (which include even supplies, raw materials and fuel) are goods that are under the exclusive management of the state? This proves that these products are not being manufactured by the bourgeoisie and dishonest merchants of all types, but that it is lax management on our part, even in the "organized" market, that is allowing degenerate and deviant elements within our organization to steal property, conspire with others and siphon state goods onto the free market. This situation has had a serious impact upon security and order and turned economic problems into political problems.

To carry out their scheme to infiltrate our internal organization, the enemy's policy is to take advantage of divisions, buy the allegiance of cadres and control cadres, most importantly in border areas, establish two-faced administrations and look for every possible way to render our basic organizations ineffective. Through the realities of economic management, the management of society and the struggle against enemy sabotage, against other crimes and against negative phenomena, we have become increasingly aware of the pressing need to make our internal organization pure, solid and strong. Through many different positive ideological and organizational measures, we must take urgent and determined steps to purify the internal organization of party and state agencies, the armed forces, the mass organizations...on all levels, particularly at nerve centers, vital, secret units, important economic and national defense sectors and basic units and other key units along the northern border, in the Central Highlands and in the major cities in order to firmly maintain the position of socialist ideology, uphold discipline, struggle to defeat the psychological war of the enemy, struggle against decadent, reactionary culture, struggle to abolish each form of "commercial" art...

In the current situation, the management of cadres must closely tie the cadre to the work assigned to him and every possible method must be employed to discover, select and correctly appoint key leadership cadres instead of assigning persons who are unethical, incompetent, conservative, stagnant or unfaithful, who create factions or are opportunists, who practice localism and so forth to leadership positions. We must end the practice of evaluating persons and work by "not going into details," by only listening to onesided, inaccurate reports, not fully taking into consideration the changes that have occurred in practice and, on this basis, making wrong decisions about personnel and work, decisions which lead to serious consequences.

Immediately expelling and properly prosecuting elements who have become degenerate and deviant, who have engaged in embezzlement, speculation or black marketing or who are despotic, arbitrary or seriously undisciplined are an especially urgent measure that must be taken. This is not only a very important prerequisite to maintaining internal security and winning victory over the enemy's sabotage, but is also one of the foremost factors in helping to restore socialist social order in all fields of life today, building the confidence and stabilizing the living conditions of cadres and the people and, on this basis, building a stronger political and moral consensus throughout society.

In the present situation, constant importance must be attached to maintaining internal security. This is not only the task of leadership and specialized cadres, but is also the responsibility of each person within the agency or unit. The immediate requirements are for every agency, enterprise and unit to promptly take steps to close loopholes, give attention to teaching the sense of revolutionary vigilance and strictly implementing internal security regulations.

2. Taking the Initiative in Attacking, Continuously, Resolutely and Thoroughly Attacking and Closely Combining Offensive and Defensive Measures To Defeat Each Scheme and Act of the Enemy To Infiltrate and Sabotage Us from Within

Building a pure, solid and strong internal organization must be closely linked to combating enemy attempts to infiltrate and sabotage us, combating other crimes and combating negative phenomena within our organization. The purpose of combating enemy sabotage, combating crime and combating negative phenomena is to protect our internal organization or, in broader terms, to build revolutionary organizations that are truly solid and strong with the aim of successfully carrying out the two strategic tasks.

In fighting the enemy, our thinking must always be that of constantly, resolutely and thoroughly taking the offensive nationwide, within each locality and at each basic unit, taking the offensive strategically, on the campaign level and tactically and taking the offensive in each specific thing that we do so that the enemy and other criminals cannot feel safe about conducting their activities, are exposed and promptly suppressed.

Under the direct and close leadership of the various party committee echelons and making combined use of our forces, the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, against other crimes and negative phenomena must be based on the revolutionary organizations of the masses, must be centered around the People's Public Security Forces and must combine mass measures with professional measures in order to protect ourselves and fight crime in both breadth and depth. We must organize the fight against the enemy better, establish a solid deployment of security forces and correctly determine primary objectives, important targets and key areas of operation nationwide and within each zone and locality so that we can utilize our forces and struggle in a way that yields the highest possible results.

The party chapters, state agencies and mass organizations at basic units must be effective offensive and solid defensive positions so that security and order can be maintained beginning right at basic units. The party members and masses, the cadres and soldiers at basic units are forces highly capable of keeping abreast of and dealing with the situation in a swift and timely fashion. If the agencies of the party and state and the cadres at basic units truly serve as the nucleus and the dependable base of the masses, very favorable conditions exist for struggling to eradicate violations of the law and negative phenomena. Efforts to protect socialist property and combat embezzlement, speculation and black marketing will yield marked results when this work is being performed thoroughly and routinely at each agency, at each production and work unit, along each street and in each hamlet and village. In the large municipalities and other cities, basic changes will occur in the maintenance of security and order if we make concerted use of forces to suppress crime and employ suitable forms and themes to build the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland while concerning ourselves with providing jobs to, improving the living conditions of and managing and educating backward youths and teenagers well.

### 3. Continuing To Accelerate the Effort To Build Increasingly Pure, Solid and Strong People's Public Security Forces So That They Truly Are the Effective Armed Force of the Proletarian Dictatorship State

To win victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and firmly maintain national security and social order and safety, we must continue to develop the widespread mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland. At the same time, we must give our attention to building People's Public Security Forces that are pure, solid and strong, are truly an effective, regular and gradually armed force.

Within the People's Public Security Forces, there must be specialized, regular forces that are politically dependable and professionally skilled, possess the necessary scientific and technical standards and are equipped with appropriate material-technical bases. Our efforts must focus on building the two main combat forces: we must strengthen the people's security forces and the forces of the People's Police to insure that they are centralized, unified and highly specialized and must strengthen the public security forces on the basic level and at other units that directly engage in the fight against crime while building solid and strong semi-specialized forces that have a solid base among the masses. The public security sector and related sectors and organizations must continue to increase the effectiveness with which joint resolutions issued by them are implemented and must also achieve stronger unity and coordination in specific operations in order to establish close, regular relations in the cause of maintaining the fatherland's security. Under the leadership of the various party committee echelons and through the movement to "apply the six teachings of Uncle Ho in revolutionary actions and build units that are solid and strong in every respect" within the People's Public Security Forces, we must continue to improve the quality of and redeploy the corps of cadres. In particular, the leadership and command cadres of public security units and the various levels of the public security sector must truly possess good qualities, be competent, be dynamic and effective, respond swiftly and possess new thinking compatible with the requirement of revamping the management of the economy and society so that they can insure the successful completion of the task of maintaining national security and social order and safety in the new period. We must cultivate in public security cadres and soldiers the virtues of fidelity, bravery and calmness, cultivate a quickness to respond and flexibility, cultivate love of their occupation and a simple, frugal, pure and wholesome way of life. We must mold their style of fighting and combat rightism, the lack of vigilance, the lack of discipline, irresponsibility and other manifestations of individualism.

### 4. In Conjunction with Building the People's Public Security Forces, Practical Measures Must Be Taken To Widely Develop the Mass Movement To Maintain the Security of the Fatherland

The mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland must be closely combined with the other movements. It must focus on the political task and meet the vital requirements of the masses in each unit and locality during each period of time. Importance must be attached to building and increasing the number of outstanding units that are models of how to maintain security and order. This effort must be closely tied to establishing and increasing

the number of outstanding units that are models in the movement to produce and do business under the new mechanism--economic accounting and socialist business practices. We must make use of each force and every available measure and establish close coordination among organizations in order to build agencies, enterprises, subwards and villages in which security and order are maintained and establish interconnected zones and lines that are secure.

With the capable assistance of public security forces and through a wide variety of appropriate measures, we must generate widespread public opinion that resolutely defends the truth, defends persons who are faithful and tenacious, who denounce and struggle against each negative phenomena and each person who violates the law or leads an impure and unwholesome life.

##### 5. Strengthening the Strategic Alliance Among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia Against the Common Enemy on the National Defense and Security Front While Uniting and Cooperating in Every Field with the Soviet Union and the Countries of the Socialist Community in the Cause of Combating the Enemy and Protecting the Gains of the Revolution of Each Country

We must intensify the exchange and study of one another's experiences on this front and create permanent conditions for closely coordinating with one another to achieve the common goal of combating the counter-revolutionary strategies of the enemy in Asia-Pacific, thereby helping to build the strength of the socialist community and safeguard world peace.

Lenin stated: "A revolution is only of value when it knows how to defend itself."(1) Our entire party and all our people will surely firmly protect the gains that have been made by the revolution and successfully provide security for the cause of building socialism and the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

##### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 37, p 145.

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## TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: BINH TRI THIEN OVERCOMES DIFFICULTIES AND MOVES TOWARD NEW GOALS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 21-24, 40  
[Article by Vu Thang, secretary of the Binh Tri Thien Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Recently, the Binh Tri Thien party organization held its congresses on the various levels, which reviewed the implementation of the lines and the major goals set in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, especially the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, clearly evaluated the situation within the province and decided new guidelines and tasks.

Looking back, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien have overcome many difficulties and challenges caused by the war and repeated natural disasters, by the sharp class struggle in the initial stage of the period of transition from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production. By working hard and struggling, the party organization and people of our province have won important victories. Among these victories, the one of overriding significance is the fact that the face of our province has gradually changed. We have shifted from the monoculture of grain crops to a diversified agriculture, thereby meeting an important portion of our needs locally (except in 1985, a year of devastating typhoons and flooding) and some districts have established small reserves. The amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops has increased from 3.7 percent of total cropland in 1981 to 8.6 percent in 1985. The size of livestock herds has increased considerably: the buffalo herd by 12 percent, the cattle herd by 25 percent and the hog herd by 11 percent. An average of 13,000 hectares of forests have been planted each year (some villages have planted 1 million trees per year). The marine products catch rose from 13,000 tons in 1981 to 21,000 tons in 1985. The total value of industrial, small industry and handicraft output rose from 1.1 billion dong in 1981 to 16 billion dong in 1985. Exports have increased with each year, reaching 14.6 million rubles-dollars in 1985, of which 26 percent were agricultural products, 18 percent were forest products, 8 percent were marine products and 26 percent were industrial and handicraft products.

Socialist production relations have been solidified and strengthened. The value of the fixed assets of agricultural cooperatives has risen by 20 percent

and the amount of self-acquired capital by 35 percent compared to 1981. Some 20,000 fellow countrymen who long lived on the water in swampy areas have now been resettled and have homes and gardens. Some 60 percent of the province's ethnic minority population has been resettled.

Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," Binh Tri Thien has constructed a number of additional material-technical bases: 300 water conservancy projects, 9 hydroelectric power stations, 8 permanent bridges and many schools, medical aid stations, stores and so forth.

Although the living conditions of the people are still very difficult, particularly at places that were destroyed in the war, all areas of the province have adopted the guideline of moving forward on the basis of their own labor, land and natural resources and through economic ties with other localities and sectors. Recently, improvements have been made in certain areas of the standard of living, such as education, culture, housing... Even during the most difficult hours following typhoon number 8, the locality's situation was rapidly stabilized in every respect thanks to the loving assistance received from the rest of the country and the people's spirit of helping those who are in need.

On the other hand, our party organization also realizes that because of certain inadequacies and weaknesses in the leadership and guidance it has provided, the rate of economic development is still slow; agricultural production is still unstable; industrial production is unstable; the application of scientific and technical advances is weak; the state-operated economic segment is not playing the dominant role within the economy even though socialist production relations were established long ago; the infrastructure of production is still a patchwork; and attention has not been given to fully establishing the new culture and fully molding the new socialist man and woman. However, of profound significance is the fact that through the realities of struggle, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien have gained an increasingly clear understanding of the common characteristics of the country, of the Vietnamese and have come to see their own strengths and weaknesses. In particular, they clearly see the direction in which the province is headed, see the real capabilities that exist for moving in this direction and have more clearly defined the specific tasks of the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien in the years ahead.

In order to develop Binh Tri Thien into a province that is economically prosperous and politically solid, is strong from the standpoint of national defense and security and is beautiful from the standpoint of its culture and tourist attractions, our party organization has established the guidelines and tasks for the years from 1986 to 1990 as:

1. Developing economic and cultural strengths with the aims of stabilizing the standard of living of the people and carrying out the formation of capital from within the economy.
2. Solidifying and perfecting socialist production relations so that the socialist segments of the economy dominate the economy and the state controls the majority of products and goods and controls the market.

3. Restructuring economic organizations in a rational way with the aim of making the management apparatus streamlined and effective.

4. Gradually redistributing labor and population for the purpose of developing the existing capabilities and potentials of all areas, with attention to the foothills, marshlands and seacoast.

5. Building additional material-technical bases with a view toward creating the conditions needed to continue gradually shifting the economy from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production and increase the rate of development of agriculture, local industry and exports.

6. Being more effective in dealing with natural disasters and overcoming the aftermath of natural disasters.

7. Firmly maintaining national defense and security.

8. Building upon the traditions of solidarity, tenacity and bravery of the people of the province, establishing a way of life that is wholesome, cultured and marked by love and respect for that which is right and joining the entire country in building and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland for the sake of the entire country.

Through the realities of the past 10 years, our party organization has increasingly come to see that to perform these tasks, it is first of all necessary to change the structure of the economy to suit the characteristics of the locality's labor, land, natural resources, climate and weather. We have focused our efforts on developing a diversified agriculture and truly consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance. At the same time, we have been making every effort to develop industry, small industry and the handicraft trades by closely tying industry to agriculture at the very outset and at basic units and closely tying agricultural and industrial production to the acceleration of exports and imports. In diversified agricultural production, each district must at least meet its needs for rice, subsidiary food crops and the other types of starch bearing crops. The province only distributes grain to the municipality, cities and industrial zones. This is an exceedingly pressing and difficult task. In recent years, because we did not have a full understanding of the laws of nature and failed to see all the characteristics of our land, ecology, soil, weather and climate, we set a production target that was too high: 800,000 tons of grain (500 kilograms per capita). Despite making every effort to meet this target, we only managed to produce 163,000 tons. Although clearing land in the foothills did result in the production of additional grain (but not a significant amount), the hills and mountains were then eroded and stripped bare, thus causing a major impact upon the environment, the ecology... Facts have proven that in order to solve the grain problem in our province, we must insure that the amount of area we plan to plant is planted, invest more in intensive cultivation and attach full importance to the application of scientific and technical advances in order to raise crop yields. In particular, we must provide what is needed by way of irrigation, drainage, fertilizer, labor and seed, establish the proper seasonal schedule and limit losses caused by the weather and natural disasters.

Developing a diversified agriculture and combining agriculture with forestry in a way that enables us to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of annual and perennial industrial crops while gradually covering the hills and mountains with vegetation and expanding livestock production--this is the direction that must be taken to develop the strengths that lie in the hills and mountains, create the conditions for bringing prosperity to the locality, fully resolve the grain problem and increase the sources of raw materials for industry and the sources of export goods. Within our province, we are gradually establishing centralized industrial crop growing areas for rubber, pepper, coffee, t'ung trees, tea and other crops in the hills and mountains and coconuts along the seacoast.

The people of our province are stepping up their efforts to plant forests and care for and protect existing forests, considering this to be a very pressing requirement in re-establishing the ecosystem, creating sources of aquatic life, controlling the damage caused by floods, protecting against windstorms and supplying wood and firewood to meet construction needs and everyday needs of the people.

Along the seacoast and in the marshlands, we must develop a diversified economy, one that ties fishing, forestry, agriculture and industry to one another, an economy centered around the cultivation, harvesting and processing of marine products for exportation and to meet the needs of the people.

The immediate requirements of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades are to urgently plan and restructure the organization of production, take practical measures to strengthen state-operated forces, develop the handicraft cooperatives and expand the trade sector within agricultural cooperatives with the aims of supporting the central task of "accelerating the development of diversified agricultural production," developing the rich sources of raw materials that lie in agriculture, forestry and marine products, achieve a higher output value and create sources of capital. The measures that must be taken to improve the product quality of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades are to gradually upgrade equipment and machinery and expand training and the effort to improve skills in the direction of gradually reaching modern skill levels in industry and small industry and developing highly sophisticated skills in the handicraft trades.

We must strengthen socialist production relations in agriculture, the fishing industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, especially in the field of distribution-circulation, strongly develop production and stabilize the standard of living. Of key and foremost importance here is the need for the state-operated segment of the economy to play the dominant role within the economy. The basic units of the state-operated economy must set examples for the collective and private economies in productivity, quality and efficiency and in the implementation of the policies and principles of the party and state. Within the collective economy, efforts must focus on improving the management skills of cooperatives in every area from the management of labor, materials, assets and distribution to upholding the right of ownership of cooperative members and strengthening and revamping the corps of cadres.

Only on the basis of strengthening the state-operated and collective economies and insuring that the socialist economy assumes the dominant position within the overall economy can we manage the market, stabilize prices and bring the organizations of the private economy into collective production or under the close management of the state.

The realities of the past 10 years have also shown us that correctly applying the lines and positions of the party to the specific circumstances of the locality is a process of finding solutions which are appropriate not only for the entire province, but also for each area of the locality, in order to make these lines and positions part of everyday life. If we do not correctly grasp the actual situation in each specific area of the province, we cannot adopt correct resolutions. Facts have shown that taking the bureaucratic, administrative approach only leads to the mechanical application of the positions and policies of the party and state. For example, when studying the education situation in ethnic minority areas, we found that although schools and teachers are available, few students are attending school. Why is this? Everything from the program of instruction to the amount of time spent in school, summer vacation and textbooks is the same as in the lowlands and cities. When the same program and system are applied at places where the level of cultural development, the language, living conditions and the weather and climate are different, how can they be implemented? We have made proposals with regard to revamping education in the mountains and hope that the Ministry of Education will study and improve upon them.

In the fields of culture, public health and the organization of the administration in the districts and villages of the mountains, there are also areas in which appropriate improvements must be made in order to achieve efficiency.

During the past 5 years, although they have had to overcome many difficulties and obstacles, the people of Binh Tri Thien have, generally speaking, recorded important achievements in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland and in the fulfillment of our international obligation. These achievements have been closely tied to the growth of our party organization. Through implementing the resolutions of the party, the management agencies of the state and the mass organizations have gained new experience in the fields of economic management and social management. Large numbers of cadres and party members have maintained their revolutionary qualities and further raised their political, cultural, scientific and technical standards in the face of new challenges.

However, our work in the field of party building is still marked by shortcomings and weaknesses. At some places, the number of party members is large but the party organization is not strong. More than a few basic organizations of the party have not set a specific political task nor adopted specific socio-economic guidelines. In their style of leadership, some cadres are distinctly bureaucratic and not in touch with the realities of life. Some cadres and party members have not sufficiently forged themselves, their qualities have deteriorated and this has affected the prestige of the party, of the socialist system.

Therefore, the task of our party organization is to concentrate on increasing its fighting strength and improving its leadership skills, particularly its ability to provide socio-economic leadership. We must revamp the building of the party so that its organizations always retain their revolutionary and scientific character, possess high fighting strength and maintain close ties to the masses. In particular, we must revamp our cadre work, beginning with our views on the evaluation, selection, training and assignment of cadres. At the same time, we must also revamp the way that we mobilize the masses and truly uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people so that "the people know, the people discuss, the people carry out and the people inspect" the implementation of the positions and policies of the party and state. Closely tied to this is the need to take specific measures to correctly fulfill the function and position of the administration as an administration of, by and for the people.

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TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS: DONG NAI BY 1990

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 25-29

[Article by Pham Van Hy, secretary of the Dong Nai Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Between the end of April and the end of August 1986, the provincial party committee and the party organizations on the various levels in Dong Nai Province completed the self-criticism and criticism campaign, gradually rectified shortcomings and built momentum for the holding of congresses on the various levels in Dong Nai.

Cadres and party members have intensely discussed and sincerely offered constructive ideas concerning the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee. This important political document and the speech by General Secretary Truong Chinh at the cadre conference to study this draft report have helped us to assess the situation more accurately and brought to mind thoughts about the guidelines and targets of Dong Nai in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

Dong Nai is a province that has many strengths. These strengths are: a diversified agriculture in a vast area of midlands, the majority of which is red basalt soil and lush forests consisting of several canopies of tropical vegetation; many species of precious wood and rare animals, particularly in the Cat Tien virgin forest, which covers some 35,000 hectares; and the Dong Nai River, which runs through the province for 290 kilometers, together with numerous other rivers, streams, lakes and underground streams, which are the habitats of many species of aquatic life and contain large sources of hydropower that must be developed. At the Tri An rapids, a large hydroelectric power project is being constructed. The first turbine section will go into operation in early 1987. Dong Nai also has 70 kilometers of coastline, which is well suited to the development of marine products production and shrimping and fishing operations, and more than 300 hectares of salt fields. Industry, small industry and the handicraft trades have developed rather well in the municipality and towns. This does not include the nearly 100 factories in the Bien Hoa industrial complex.

These strengths lie within the reach of the people of our province, people of many different skin colors and religions, people who possess a tradition of diligent and creative labor, possess a tenacious and brave will and who have

written glorious pages in the history of working to build the country and struggling to liberate the nation.

Besides these tremendous advantages, we have also faced very serious problems in each field as a result of the 30 year war and colonialism, both old and new, the most serious of which have been economic dependence and the poisoning and corruption of man.

During the past 11 years, in keeping with the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau, the party organization and people of Dong Nai, through an exceedingly hard and bitter struggle, have recorded important achievements in the fields of the economy, politics, culture, society, security and national defense. Foremost among these achievements are the continuous development of agricultural production and the new life that has begun to emerge in the various localities and areas of the province. Allow me to cite a few examples: between the period immediately following liberation and 1984, per capita grain output increased three times (to nearly 300 kilograms) and the output of annual industrial crop products increased from two to five times (coffee output soared, increasing 347 percent by 1983). The quantities of grain, agricultural products and many other essential goods mobilized increased with each passing year and state plans were either met or exceeded. The value of exports rose from nothing to 38 million rubles-dollars. All subwards and villages acquired schools and basic public health units...

Socialist transformation has been accelerated. Deserving of attention is that we have virtually completed bringing farmers into collective production.

Although we have continued to face many complex political and social problems, security and order have been maintained.

From an historical perspective and from the standpoint of development, the above mentioned achievements are of enormous revolutionary significance, are new and important factors that lay the groundwork for subsequent stages of development.

However, these achievements are not commensurate with the large potentials of Dong Nai. For example, Dong Nai currently has tens of thousands of hectares of good soil that are only used to raise one crop during the rainy season. This land lies fallow during the dry season, despite rather abundant sources of hydropower. Although there are many grasslands, importance has not been attached to developing the raising of the species of large livestock. Although there are many basic units in industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, they have not been organized in a way that is rational. A rather large number of the products produced is lost as a result of laxity in management and distribution. Manual workers and civil servants continue to encounter many difficulties in their everyday lives, etc.

In the process of struggling to learn while working in order to strictly but dynamically comply with the resolutions of the party congress, of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, we have learned many valuable lessons. We have gained an increasing understanding of the economic potentials of our

province. We have a fuller appreciation of what our starting point is in the initial stage of the period of transition, namely, developing a diversified agriculture, which requires that we consider grain to be our main crop while understanding the strategic position of annual and perennial industrial crops and a processing industry to increase the value of products. We see the strength of the people's creativity. We have gained some experience in implementing the new mechanism, in implementing the guideline "transform in order to utilize, utilize in order to transform better..." From these lessons, our provincial party committee has arrived at new, scientifically based thinking and set guidelines, targets and measures for the period between now and 1990 with the aim of efficiently and quickly developing and building upon our inherent strengths.

In this spirit, our provincial party committee prepared its report to the 6th Congress of the Dong Nai party organization in accordance with the following views:

We must establish a rational economic structure that combines industry with agriculture from the very outset and make agriculture our starting point in resolving the problems that face the people in their daily lives and carrying out capital formation for industrialization within the province.

In agriculture, we must make developing grain production (rice and subsidiary food crops) our central task and make industrial crops the leading edge of development on which breakthroughs will be made, particularly annual and perennial industrial crops of high economic value, such as coffee, rubber, pepper, peanuts, soybeans and tobacco. We must strongly develop the raising of hogs, cattle, goats, fish and poultry. These are the guidelines of strategic significance of Dong Nai.

Under these guidelines, we must practice intensive cultivation and rotation cultivation well in coordination with expanding the amount of area under cultivation through multicropping and the clearing of land in order to increase the coefficient of cropland use to two times.

Foremost among the measures we must take is to concentrate investment capital on medium and small-scale water conservancy projects (including canals and ditches) and combine the construction of water conservancy projects with building the hydroelectric power network by establishing satellites around the large Tri An hydroelectric power project in order to support production and meet some of the needs in the material and cultural lives of the people, including those who live in remote, wilderness areas.

We must improve the protection of the forests, step up afforestation and the harvesting of forest products and parcel out land and forests to collectives and individuals. We must cultivate and catch marine products, especially exported marine products.

In order for agriculture to be the front of foremost importance and our starting point, we must mobilize combined forces to support agriculture in a way that is concerted and well coordinated. These forces must be of the right size and quality and be provided at the right time. We must redistribute

labor and population in a way that is rational. Local industry, small industry and the handicraft trades must be strongly developed and ties must be established between them and the central enterprises located within the province for the purpose of producing a full supply of tools and machines, building materials, consumer goods and exports goods. Special importance must be attached to the agricultural, forest and marine product processing industries in order to raise the value of export goods.

On the basis of the view that production relations must be compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces, Dong Nai must make every effort to solidify and strengthen state-operated and collective economic forces (with state-operated forces playing the dominant role) and actively implement the guideline "transform in order to utilize, utilize in order to transform better" as long as five different economic segments continue to exist.

Of immediate importance is the need to improve the quality of production collectives and agricultural cooperatives on the basis of strengthening their management, improving their distribution and ending the use of "non-specific" contracts and unreasonable distribution which causes the value of the manday to be low at a time when the value of total output continues to rise.

Production collectives and cooperatives must be brought under planning in coordination with implementing economic leverage policies to provide incentive for the development of production.

We must gain experience from the pilot project in the exercise of production and business autonomy at a number of basic units and actively expand the implementation of this policy at the units of local state-operated industry and small industry and handicraft cooperatives in order to achieve higher productivity and quality and reduce production costs.

In Dong Nai, facts have shown that developing the household economy is a matter of utmost importance because this economy is a large supplemental source of social wealth, provides the laborer with additional income and augments both the state-operated and collective economies. Under the provincial party committee's policy of making full use of land to raise coffee for exportation, the people have harvested thousands of additional tons for sale to the state.

We advocate a policy of allowing self-employed persons to hire some manpower in order to produce consumer goods that are not directly or exclusively managed by the state with the aim of creating additional products for society.

Urgent steps must be taken to restructure our organization and improve our management on the distribution-circulation front in order to control goods and money and balance revenues and expenditures. State-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives must be solidified and strengthened in line with the view that they operate as businesses in order to support production and everyday life. We must adopt appropriate policies, implement two-way contracts and insure that investments are made in advance of production in order to control the vast majority of grain and a number of other agricultural

products and products of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades at their sources. Materials and goods must be delivered to basic production units and consumers directly, not through intermediaries.

Export-import activities must be raised to a new level of development on the basis of unifying the management of this business and insuring the importation of materials, equipment and petroleum products for production and construction.

We must reorganize small merchants, gradually shift a large number of small merchants to production and the services, take determined steps to remove the bourgeoisie from commerce and harshly punish speculators and black marketeers.

Scientific-technical forces must be oriented toward supporting production, most importantly the introduction of intensive cultivation, the establishment of centralized, specialized farming areas and the processing of agricultural, forest and marine products.

Work in the fields of culture, education, public health and physical culture-sports must be oriented toward achieving higher quality and supporting the political task and efforts to establish the new culture and mold the new man and woman.

All socio-economic activities must be closely tied to maintaining political security and social order and defending the fatherland.

The struggle by our province to stabilize and partially improve the standard of living of the laboring people, build some material-technical bases, maintain security and national defense and fulfill our international obligation must be based on upholding the right of collective ownership of the people and increasing the effectiveness of the state apparatus under the leadership of the party.

The past 11 years have proven the powerful revolutionary potentials of the people of Dong Nai in the work of building the new life. In the very difficult and complex struggle of today, it is, as General Secretary Truong Chinh said, even more necessary to stress the view that the people must be our base. Therefore, we must take two steps to further convince the people that this is our view:

--We must educate the people and show them that the starting point of the lines, positions and policies of the party and state and the guidelines and targets of the provincial party organization and administration is the immediate and long-range interests of the people. On the other hand, we must concern ourselves with resolving problems that relate to the practical interests of the masses through specific policies and systems. As Lenin said: ideological work that is detached from material interests betrays itself.

--On this basis, we must launch a revolutionary movement of the masses to display a high sense of self-reliance, produce much wealth for society and "live and work in accordance with the Constitution and the law." Here, the Front and the mass organizations play a very important role in propagandizing

and educating the people with regard to implementing the policies of the party and laws of the state, inspecting and supervising cadres and party members and expressing their thoughts and aspirations to the party.

Since the day that Dong Nai was liberated, the administration apparatus has been established on all levels and gradually strengthened in order to fulfill its function as the tool of collective ownership by the people. However, as it has embarked on implementing the new mechanism, this apparatus has shown itself to be cumbersome and ineffective. It is our position that the administration apparatus must be strengthened from the provincial to the local and village levels so that it is streamlined and efficient and that it be staffed by a corps of competent cadres who possess good personal qualities to insure that this apparatus properly fulfills its two functions of providing administrative management and managing production and business.

Being forged and challenged in the cause of building and defending the fatherland has caused our provincial party organization to grow and mature. Recently, the self-criticism and criticism campaign helped cadres and party members to distinguish between right and wrong and correct some shortcomings and mistakes, most importantly shortcomings and mistakes related to their personal qualities and way of life. However, in the face of the requirements of the current political task, the building of the party must be improved ideologically, politically and organizationally with the aims of continuing to cultivate revolutionary ethics, combating individualism, cultivating the new economic thinking, achieving greater dynamism and practical activities and thinking and working in accordance with the resolutions of the party. The party's organization must be solid, strong and pure. Cadres and party members must be frugal, diligent and honest, possess strong skills and know how to perform their work in an efficient manner.

The experience of Dong Nai shows the need to correctly establish the strategic position occupied by the district level and boldly assign management responsibilities to the districts with a view toward heightening the sense of responsibility of districts and creating the conditions for them to undertake and successfully carry out economic construction, the organizing of everyday life and the maintenance of security and national defense under the close leadership and guidance of the upper level. Full importance must be attached to building the contingent of core cadres at basic units, within the various sectors and on the different levels. Secretaries, the heads of units and other persons in charge must dare to think, dare to act, dare to assume responsibility. They must know how to focus the thinking and feelings of each person on the goals set by the party, how to organize and assemble the forces of the masses and concentrate these forces on thoroughly resolving key problems and thoroughly performing vital jobs.

The various levels of the party, the administration and the mass organizations within the province must make the results of their work the measurement of their qualities and skills.

On the basis of the thinking presented, our province projects that it will meet the following primary norms by the end of 1990:

--A total grain output, in paddy equivalent, of 730,000 to 750,000 tons and an average of 350 kilograms per year per capita.

--A hog herd of 300,000 hogs with an average market weight of 60 kilograms per hog; 123,000 buffalo and head of cattle.

--Planting 10,000 hectares of forest annually.

--Catching 25,000 tons of marine products, raising 5,000 tons of aquatic products; and producing from 60,000 to 70,000 tons of salt.

--Some 5.1 billion dong in total industrial, small industry and handicraft output.

--Investing 2.1-2.5 billion dong in capital construction during the 5 years from 1986 to 1990, with 35 percent being invested in agriculture, forestry and water conservancy.

--Mobilizing 250,000 tons of grain, in paddy equivalent (with subsidiary food crops making up 70-80 percent).

--Mobilizing the majority of agricultural and food products and the products of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades.

--Some 70 million rubles-dollars in exports.

--Twenty-five hospital beds per every 10,000 persons of population.

--Some 2,550 persons attending school per every 10,000 persons of population.

--Each person viewing eight movies per year.

When met, these targets will insure that the people of our province have a full supply of food, that their vital consumer needs are met, that their life is happy and wholesome and that capital is formed for socialist industrialization, thereby bringing about a revolutionary change in this region that has the tradition of being "the hard but brave East." The more we give thought to our responsibility, the more our party organization is imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho: "The party must have a very good plan for achieving economic and cultural development with the aim of constantly improving the standard of living."

We pledge to launch revolutionary action movements of the masses, overcome each difficulty and implement the sacred Testament of the revered Uncle Ho.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: SOME MATTERS WITH REGARD TO REVAMPING OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY SCIENCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 30-34

[Article by Colonel General Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] Military science encompasses the system of knowledge of the laws and methods of conducting a coordinated uprising, conducting a war and building national defense forces under a given set of historical circumstances. Military science studies war and delves deeply into the fields of activity unique to war--armed struggle and military activities, in general. At the same time, it studies the other fields of activity of war to varying degrees with the aim of arriving at knowledge of the conditions and laws of development of war as well as the principles and laws that control the entire course of a war and, on this basis, developing general guidelines for actions taken throughout the war. Military science is a social science. At the same time, it is a science of an integrated nature.

War is the object of military science. Because, the formation and development of military science have been closely tied to the emergence and development of war. In other words, military science did not emerge until after war emerged. War has constantly changed and developed. Today, war has reached a very high level of development and become a complex social phenomenon that has an impact upon the entire life of society, upon each field of activity of the state. It encompasses armed struggle and other activities on the economic, political, diplomatic, ideological, psychological and other fronts, among which armed struggle is the characteristic form. Therefore, war has today become the object of very broad and complex research by fields other than the field of military science. Many other fields of science, the social sciences, the natural sciences and the technical sciences, must also study it if they are to achieve a full and deep knowledge of war.

One of the pressing matters facing those who guide as well as those who conduct military scientific research today is the need to revamp military scientific activities from the standpoint of both our thinking and the methods employed. In light of this requirement, allow me to present a few thoughts so that we can study this matter together.

--One important demand is the need for us to fully understand and properly establish the relationship between military science and the military line. In essence, the military line is the system of views of a party and a state in a given period concerning the nature and characteristics of a war that might break out as well as the policies, tasks and guidelines concerning this war. Therefore, the relationship between the military line and military science is the relationship between providing guidance and following guidance, between views and the forms, methods and abilities needed to apply these views in practice and between principles that chart and determine the direction of military science and the specific matters with which military science deals. The military line of the party is what determines the party character and class nature of military science. The successes of military science have a reciprocal positive and effective impact by augmenting and enriching the military views and lines of the party and laying additional theoretical bases that enable us to set within the line of the party policies and tasks that are clearer, more accurate, fuller and consistent with specific historical circumstances. Establishing this dialectical relationship well is the key to stimulating the development of military science to a new level and insuring that the military line is accurate, practical and highly convincing. The realities of history have shown that military science cannot exist without a military line nor can military science be detached from war. The line of the party cannot be refined over a short period of time and, even if it could, it must always be concretized and developed in a manner consistent with the continuous development of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, of the practical aspects of war and the buildup of the armed forces. Moreover, the military line of the party is adopted on the basis of scientific conclusions reached by military science. Therefore, military science also has the task of helping to formulate the party's military line. The success of Vietnam in the recent revolutionary war was due to the correct military line of the party and a developed system of military science. This has enabled military science to assert its position in the current stage of the revolution and in future stages.

--Always closely assessing the enemy we are fighting and very thoroughly examining the opposition in order to learn their character and laws of operation are a fundamental part of military science. Otherwise, we cannot adopt a correct, appropriate strategy for winning victory. Our efforts to assess the enemy must be comprehensive (encompassing politics, the economy, society, military science and art...). Our constant thinking here must be to never underestimate the opposition. From a political and strategic standpoint, all unjust wars of aggression have their weaknesses. However, appropriate importance must be attached to the warfare capabilities of the opposition. If we underestimate the opposition, we will be taken by surprise and caught unprepared when encountering a strong adversary.

--In the present age, an age in which science and technology are undergoing tremendous development and have reached a high level, an age in which the equipment of armies is constantly being upgraded, especially in the case of the capitalist countries whose economies, particularly their heavy industries, have developed very rapidly, those who work in the field of military science must always keep their thinking up to date so that they can correctly evaluate the enemy. Military science must provide scientifically based and accurate

forecasts, concepts, premises, new methods of fighting... Here, very much importance must be attached to scientific forecasts and scientific information of the world so that we can learn the latest military scientific information on the enemy, constantly keep abreast of and research new discoveries in the field of military science and technology and new improvements in equipment, weapons and technology and thereby contribute to increasing the strength of our equipment, limiting the effectiveness of each piece of equipment, each weapon and each technology of the enemy and taking a step forward in guiding practical application with the aim of winning victory in combat.

--One very strict requirement, and also a law governing the activities of the various fields of science, including military science, is the need to establish close relations with the other fields of science. Military science must take the initiative in establishing this important relationship, particularly with the science of military history. Military history is a subject of military science. In the process of developing Vietnam's military science, we have attached very much importance to carrying on and building upon the nation's military tradition. The party encourages research on the history of the nation's wars and the study and incorporation of valuable military experience gained in the past by the nation and the world. The party requires that importance be given to researching, compiling and reviewing the history of war at home and abroad down through the various periods of history. Through the study of practical aspects of past wars, we have learned the laws of war and developed the theory of military science. Military history is increasingly being given a worthy position in the military science of Vietnam and has been incorporated in the regular training program of military schools. Military history enables military science to see military principles and laws at work in the most real, concrete and vivid manner possible. It is only when those persons working in the field of military science have a sure grasp of modern military knowledge as well as the experience of war that their knowledge can be complete and comprehensive, the basis can be laid for raising their level of military art and they can achieve a high level of creativity and flexibility, particularly when guiding the conduct of a war. Modern military art and modern combat methods still always incorporate experiences in history. A war unfolds in accordance with laws. Even past wars and coming wars were and will be governed by universal laws. The phenomena of war are endless in their variety, combat situations are exceedingly complex. When researching the new and the modern, we cannot neglect to research the past, the experience of history, because, they augment the new in rich and vivid ways. Practice requires that those who work in the field of military science have a full knowledge of military history. At the same time, they must equip themselves with modern military knowledge. Only with full knowledge of these two fields of military science is the basis laid for formulating correct methodology. Since ancient times, outstanding military leaders in our country and the world have given very much attention to researching military history and all have been persons well versed in military history and the history of war. Military history plays a very important role in all subjects of military scientific theory. In projects of military theory, knowledge of military history is always the starting point, the basis for reaching convincing conclusions.

--In practice, very many sectors within the social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences participate in solving problems pertaining to war and the army. In particular, the technical sciences have increasingly become closely tied to military science in meeting needs for weapons, combat equipment, mobility and command equipment as well as the support needs of the armed forces. Military science must make the technical sciences the means by which it develops. The development of the technical sciences will strongly stimulate the development of military science. Military science sets the requirements and tasks of military technology and guides military technology in the process of its practical application in war. In the course of combat, contradictions constantly arise and must be promptly resolved, contradictions that relate not only to military art, but also to military technology. Yet, we have never fully understood the relationship between military science and military technology and have yet to establish a close relationship between these two sectors. This relationship is still loose. Therefore, we have yet to achieve the effect of these two sectors stimulating each other's strong and well coordinated development. However, the development of military technology must be based on the development of the country's economy, because the economy is the material-technical base of war. Within the economy, industry is the most fundamental base of military technology. Our party is both clearly aware of the decisive role played by man and clearly aware of the important role of weapons and technology in war. In conjunction with making every effort to develop the human factor, our party has never given light attention to developing the effectiveness of weapons and technology. We have gradually developed our military science and technology, considering it to be an indispensable part of the overall structure of military science. And, today, military science and technology have assumed a position higher than ever before within the overall structure of Vietnam's military science. On the basis of the development of the national economy and the level of development of science and technology, in general, we must, in terms of military technology, endeavor to gradually become the masters of all types of modern weapons and equipment and produce and manufacture those types that are needed in modern warfare on our own. Therefore, those persons who work in the field of military science and those who work in the field of military technology must possess knowledge of military science and military technology.

--In order for military science to develop, it is necessary to accelerate the testing of military science through exercises and maneuvers. These provide a practical basis for proving the extent to which principles and laws have been correctly or incorrectly applied, proving how likely it is that victory will be won and proving how efficiently victory can be won. Although conditions are very difficult, we still must accelerate and further expand our exercises and maneuvers, that is, our field testing. The realities of war show that the situation constantly changes. Evaluating the situation in each of its aspects is exceedingly complex and demands very painstaking efforts in order to reach accurate conclusions. Testing demands that organizers and commanders be highly practical persons who have much experience in war. Only in this way is it possible to develop many complex situations and resolve these situations in a flexible and creative manner. Testing is the scientific basis for proving modern military principles and is also one of the important requirements in waging war today and in the future in view of the constant development of the forms of warfare. Researching the history of war in conjunction with

conducting military testing by means of maneuvers is a good way to gain a clear understanding of the principles and laws of war.

--We must firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist theory and correctly apply the material dialectic, considering this to be the only correct general methodology in military science. War develops in very diverse ways. Drastic changes take place. Therefore, only one methodology, the methodology of Marxism-Leninism, can guide the development of military science in the correct direction and always lead to creativity. The realities of war have also shown that no two battles are alike. Each battle is fought in a different way because the conditions underlying battles are never the same. The methodology of Marxism-Leninism helps us to gain a more dialectical, more flexible and deeper understanding of the principles and laws of war, avoid established patterns and avoid applying these principles and laws in ways that are rigid and mechanical. The movement of the principles and laws of war are usually unique in their own ways and totally dissimilar from the movement of a number of other laws. This was summarized by President Ho Chi Minh when he said:

"If the wrong move is made, the two bishops are wasted  
But, at the right time, even a pawn can bring victory."

In recent years, the major achievements of our country's military science have helped to successfully resolve many problems concerning strategy, campaign and tactical art and the military technical sciences in both combat and the buildup of forces and in their relationship to the other aspects of struggle, thus bringing the war to total victory. The strong strides made by military science in recent years have been based, to a very large extent, on the very profound and important realities of our country's revolution. Military science must be based on the views of dialectical materialism concerning the objective nature of the laws of armed struggle. It cannot force these laws to fit the situation, rather, it must always look for the concrete manifestations of these laws and apply them in a creative way to win victory in the struggle on the basis of tapping the initiative and creativity of cadres and soldiers. V.I. Lenin said: "To truly understand a thing, it is necessary to see and research all aspects, all interrelationships and 'indirect relations' of this thing. We can never do this completely, but the need to examine each and every aspect will prevent us from making mistakes and being rigid."(1)

In order for a society to develop in every respect, thinking must be kept up to date in all fields, including the field of military science. Keeping thinking up to date in the field of military science leads to methods for thoroughly performing the tasks confronted in this work. The purpose of doing this is to make Vietnam's present day military science worthy of a military system that is thoroughly revolutionary and truly scientific in nature, is uniquely national in its identity and is profoundly contemporary. At the cadre conference to study the draft of the Political Report to be presented at the 6th Party Congress, Truong Chinh said: "The abilities and qualities of the cadre must be expressed in revising his thinking, in changing the way that he thinks and works, particularly in the economic field..."(2) This is the objective measurement, the very strict standard of evaluation not only of cadres who perform leadership work, specialized work and economic work, but also of every cadre in all fields of science.

Our responsibility is to always stimulate the development of military science by making substantive changes and improvements. Only by developing military science can we learn the essence of the laws and conditions of development of war and, on this basis, guide the struggle in the right direction and win thorough victory. This is the task of military science as we look ahead to meeting the goals set by the 6th Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 42, p 364.
2. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8, 1986, p 12.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: SOME THOUGHTS ON SOCIALIST NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 35-40

[Article by Nguyen The Uan]

[Text] I. Planned and Balanced Economic Development Is the Characteristic Law of Socialism

A system of commodity production based on private ownership of the means of production cannot be developed in a planned manner because private ownership of the means of production is the origin of competition. We cannot accept the view that monopolistic capitalism with its economic methods is capable of planning the economy. Only socialism abolishes capitalist private ownership of the means of production, eliminates the source of competition and is capable of carrying out planned economic development.

The realities of nearly 70 years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and roughly 40 years of socialist construction in the other socialist countries have eloquently proven that it is only possible to plan the national economy on the basis of establishing socialist ownership of the means of production and only possible to achieve centralism--the superior strength of the socialist economy--through planning.

The largest victory of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has been the successful application of the law of planned and balanced development of socialism under the specific conditions of each country. This is a victory of decisive significance. Although there are still shortcomings in the national economic planning of each country, we would fall into the morass of revisionism were we to use these shortcomings as a reason for rejecting the law of the planned and balanced development of the socialist economy.

Here, it is also necessary to clarify the concept of competition and planning. In its strict economic sense, competition is the inevitable struggle by persons who produce commodities on the basis of private ownership of the means of production to market their products, to have the personal labor embodied in their commodities recognized as socialized labor and as a part of necessary social labor as a whole. Competition is an activity of a social nature of private commodity producers. The law of value--the internal law of commodity

production--regulates this competition in a spontaneous manner. Through competition, some of these commodity producers are forced into bankruptcy while others prosper. Bankruptcy and prosperity are the two sides of competition, are the inevitable consequences of the development of commodity production based on private ownership of the means of production.

Under the conditions of socialist commodity production, once the private ownership of the means of production has been eliminated, the concept of competition no longer exists. Production develops by means of planning and socialist emulation. Under the socialist system, the means of production are owned by all the people and by the collective. Although private ownership of the means of production still exists to a certain degree in the stage of transition to socialism, socialist ownership of the primary means of production is the dominant form of ownership. Everything from mines, factories, transportation-communications, fields, mountains, rivers and the seas to banks, the finance system and so forth is owned by all the people. Without correctly appreciating this absolute strength, one cannot have a correct view of the socialist economy.

Planning the national economy entails the goal-oriented application of the laws of general and specific balances: balance between production and needs; balance among the various elements of the social reproduction process, including balance from the standpoint of use value and value, balance between sector I and sector II, balance between the formation of capital and consumption, balance between exports and imports, etc. Attention must be given to the need to closely coordinate the overall balance (that is, the balance of the national economy) and the component balances (that is, the balance of each sector, each basic production unit and each separate economic unit) within a dialectical entity. The overall balance must be based on the real capabilities and needs of the country. The component balances must be arranged in a well coordinated way within the overall balance and have the effect of actively stimulating the establishment of the overall balance.

Planning is part of the nature of the socialist national economy and is the law of development of this economy.

The absolute superiority of the socialist national economy is the strength of centralism (the strength of socialist ownership of the means of production). This strength is the basis (from the standpoint of production and business) of planning. Conversely, planning is the most complete expression of the strength of centralism. Therefore, when talking about planning, we are talking about the whole national economy. For a socialist country, there is only one plan. The localities and basic production and business units have the responsibility of helping to formulate the common plan and implementing it within the scope of the locality and basic unit. The common plan must reflect the economic development guidelines of the country in each specific stage. The yearly plan must reflect the development guidelines of the 5-year plan. The 5-year economic plan must reflect the development guidelines of the 15-20 year long-term economic development program of the country.

Without establishing the goals of the 15-20 year long-term economic development program, goal-oriented 5-year planning cannot be carried out. Without goal-oriented 5-year planning, accurate yearly plans cannot be established.

In planning, we cannot simply concern ourselves with matters of immediate, temporary importance, but must also take into consideration the goals of the country's long-term economic development strategy.

It is regrettable that two 5-year plans have passed without us adopting an economic strategy (a long-term economic development program). This is a major shortcoming and has been a major cause of disorder in national economic planning.

## II. Planning under the Conditions of an Economy in Which Small-scale Production Predominates and Which Is Advancing to Large-scale, Socialist Production Without Experiencing the Stage of Capitalist Development

The salient characteristics of small-scale production are decentralization and backwardness (not only in terms of material and technical bases, but also in the style of work and economic thinking). These characteristics pose a major obstacle to national economic planning. However, we cannot correct this situation overnight.

Thus, how is national economic planning to be carried out?

In my opinion, of foremost and most decisive significance is the need for a long-term economic development program, one that encompasses at least the next 15 to 20 years, a program that establishes the strategic goals and key problems that must be met and resolved. This long-term economic development program must be consistent with the development capabilities of the country and take into consideration participation in international specialization and cooperation, most importantly with the fraternal socialist countries.

There is no other way for an economy in which small-scale production predominates to advance to large-scale, socialist production than by carrying out the formation of initial capital. However, an economy in which small-scale production predominates, in which labor productivity is low and the surplus product is negligible cannot carry out the formation of initial capital. Consequently, it is necessary to rely, to a large degree, upon loans from foreign countries.

Under present conditions, with the presence of the socialist countries, it is entirely possible for us to borrow capital from foreign countries for the purpose of carrying out the formation of initial capital (not only from the socialist countries, but from capitalist countries as well). Carrying out the formation of initial capital through loans from foreign countries is a phenomenon tantamount to a law in the case of countries advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

In fact, this has been done or is currently being done by many countries.

Of course, it must be recognized that the capital of foreign countries as well as the ability of the national economy to put this capital to use are limited. When formulating a goal-oriented long-term economic development program, full consideration must be given to domestic and foreign capabilities in the immediate future as well as over the long-range. These long-term guidelines and goals are the basis for establishing the redevelopment and capital construction investment policy. Investments in redevelopment and capital construction are the first use of initial capital.

Over the years, we have failed to adopt a correct investment policy. This is mainly because we have not established long-term goals and guidelines. Due to this absence of long-term goals and guidelines, investments have been uncoordinated, haphazard and caused serious waste in capital construction. This has caused immediate difficulties and will cause even greater difficulties over the long-range, because, mistakes in capital construction are strategic mistakes and have an effect that lasts for a few decades.

In my opinion, the long-term development of large-scale production must be oriented toward large-scale industry. To develop large-scale industry, it is first of all necessary to have a developed infrastructure. Modernizing roads, bridges, ports and warehouses is the most urgent need, not only from the standpoint of support in the immediate future, but support over the long-range as well.

One fact recognized by everyone is that in order to advance from small-scale to large-scale production--a high level of specialization and cooperation in production--we must have a well developed system of roads, bridges and ports. Without a good infrastructure, without good communications and transportation, it is impossible to develop production in the direction of specialization and cooperation in order to make good use of existing capabilities, not to mention make effective use of newly constructed projects.

Along with investing in the construction of a modern infrastructure, appropriate investments must also be made in building the key economic sectors, such as the electric power, mechanical engineering, mining and processing industries. Of course, building these key sectors of the economy takes a long time. On a short-term basis, the building of these industries must be well focused and be reflected in the 5-year plan and yearly plans.

One of the matters of key importance is to establish the correct relationship among the development of heavy industry, the development of light industry and the development of agriculture.

In an economy that consists mainly of small-scale production, agriculture (including the handicraft trades) plays an important role. Making investments in the redevelopment and the intensive development of agriculture is a matter of very large practical significance. If such investments are not made, there can be no continuity in development. But agriculture and the handicraft trades can only develop quickly and effectively with the effective support of heavy industry. For example, the electrification of agriculture can only occur when the power industry develops. Fertilizer and pesticides can only be supplied when the chemical industry develops. Agricultural products can only

be processed when the processing industry develops and so forth.

At present, our agriculture is quite heavily dependent upon the outside. To increase the total value of agricultural output, we must invest more than a few rubles and dollars directly in production. But this is not a path that can be successfully taken by agriculture because it is unable to repay debts, not to mention develop.

The clear need that arises here is to make appropriate investments in the development of industry (aimed at those sectors that are of most critical importance) so that we can advance the economy from small-scale to large-scale production, beginning by carrying out the redevelopment and development of agricultural production in the direction of specialization and cooperation on a nationwide scale. In conjunction with the development of agriculture, accelerated investments must be made, especially short-term and medium-term investments, in the development of light industry, with importance attached to developing the light industrial sectors that produce export goods.

Correctly investing in the production of industrial consumer goods is a measure that will stimulate agricultural production and reduce its dependence upon foreign markets while making it possible to establish balance between the flow of goods and the flow of money and between distribution and circulation.

Only by making appropriate investments in the development of agriculture and light industry can we successfully develop the existing potentials of the country in order to move ahead. However, if we do not give priority to taking a step forward in the development of heavy industry (the key sectors), we cannot develop agriculture and light industry.

Establishing the correct relationship between heavy industry and light industry and agriculture within a long-term socio-economic development program is a matter of very important significance, especially from the standpoint of mapping out stages of development.

Mapping out stages of development will create favorable conditions for planning.

However, with material and technical bases still unstable, combining the plan and the market is an indispensable objective requirement.

National economic planning must combine use value and value. From the standpoint of use value, products are produced under all different forms of ownership of the means of production: national ownership, collective ownership and private ownership.

The material and technical bases of all three of these forms of ownership need to be mobilized in formulating the national economic plan. But whether or not the state can mobilize these capabilities depends upon the value balance of the plan. This is an exceedingly complex balance because it must be established through such economic levers as prices, credit, interest rates, wages, etc. As long as the free market remains strong, it will continue to be

very difficult to apply these economic levers in balancing the national economy.

To implement the value balance of the plan, the state must effectively control goods and money.

The most basic measures for effectively controlling goods and money are:

--The state establishing a monopoly in the very important goods of the national economy, especially imports;

--The state thoroughly implementing the principle of its monopoly of foreign trade (and foreign exchange) and the central level providing unified management within the field of the overseas economy;

--The state establishing national reserves as well as an appropriate supply of goods in circulation (most importantly consumer goods) and a unified nationwide price, wage and monetary mechanism.

Efforts must be made to protect and develop the organized market so that it provides a solid foundation for planning distribution and circulation, which is an indispensable part of national economic planning.

The localities and basic production units must exercise autonomy in their businesses in accordance with a unified price-wage-monetary mechanism.

--The state reorganizing the socio-economic management apparatus from the central to the local levels and establishing an apparatus that is well coordinated and effective, beginning by strengthening the Council of Ministers and the agencies on the central level with a view toward insuring a high degree of centralism and uniformity from top to bottom.

A determined struggle must be waged against the practice of doing as one sees fit, against partiality and localism-- which are products of small-scale production in socio-economic management. Everything must comply with the uniform, common guidelines, targets and mechanisms of the entire country. When formulating and implementing the plan, it is necessary to thoroughly research and correctly establish the overall balance between goods and money in the process of social reproduction.

The balance between goods and money contained within the plan is a non-itemized balance. In the implementation of the plan, this balance is an itemized balance. The non-itemized balance must insure that goals and guidelines are met and implemented. The itemized balance must support the non-itemized balance.

Under the conditions of small-scale production and a free market that is still large, establishing the balance between goods and money is a very difficult and complex matter. When formulating the plan, it is necessary to examine the role of the market and its impact upon the development of the national economy. In the process of implementing the plan, attention must be given to

market-related measures, to making uniform use of economic levers (prices, wages, credit-interest rates, exchange rates and so forth).

### III. The State's Monopoly of Foreign Trade (and Foreign Currency) Is the Most Important Tool in Economic Planning

Under the conditions of an economy which consists primarily of small-scale production and is advancing to large-scale, socialist production without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, it is very difficult to carry out the formation of initial capital and a very large percentage of capital must be in the form of loans from foreign countries. If the state does not tightly control foreign trade, it cannot establish the long-term development guidelines and goals of the national economy nor can it regulate the balance between goods and money in the process of social reproduction. And, when such is the case, the national economy cannot be planned.

Only by monopolizing foreign trade can the state insure that the strength which is the centralism of the socialist economy can be employed in foreign exchange. This foreign trade monopoly serves two basic functions: protecting and developing the economy.

The two functions of protecting and developing the economy are closely linked and exert an impact through a dialectical entity. In the case of a country whose economy is underdeveloped, protecting the economy is a matter of very decisive significance. Without being protected, the economy cannot survive, not to mention develop or be planned.

At present, we are giving very light attention to protecting the economy. Many sectors and localities have been given the authority to directly export and import goods at a time when their apparatus is very weak and underdeveloped, not only from the standpoint of professional skills, but also the standpoint of personal qualities, and the state is unable to fully inspect and control these activities. As a result, chaos has been and is being created on the foreign trade front.

Competition in procurements and sales at home as well as abroad is the unavoidable result of the above action.

When products must be imported before other products can be exported (imports must not only stimulate the development of production and meet needs related to the standard of living at home, but must also create export goods so that debts can be repaid and other products can be imported), centralized regulation by the state is a necessity because only the state acts on the basis of the common interests of the national economy, only the state takes the view of the whole in performing this work.

The foreign trade monopoly is the tool of the proletarian dictatorship in the field of overseas economic activities. Its significance does not, as some persons mistakenly think, lie on the ordinary level of a monopoly by one ministry over another, by one sector over another, etc.

It must be deeply understood that foreign trade is truly a front of a difficult and complex domestic versus overseas economic struggle. External imperialist and reactionary powers are constantly attacking us. If we do not employ the strength that is the centralism of the socialist economy in the field of foreign trade, we will lose our economic independence. To decentralize foreign trade activities to the extent that the central state is unable to manage the overseas economy or the domestic economy is contrary to the principle of the state's monopoly of foreign trade. Chaos in foreign trade provides the best possible avenue for international capitalists and reactionaries to infiltrate and sabotage our country's economy.

To our country, foreign trade is one of the bases of decisive importance underlying planning. Therefore, the state must control foreign trade, must control this important base of planning through the foreign trade monopoly.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: THE WINTER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS EXPORT ORGANIZATION IN THAI BINH

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[Article by Dang Van Nong]

[Text] Within Thai Binh Province's agriculture, in addition to the production of rice, which is the primary element of the province's agriculture, one factor that has emerged in recent years is the expansion of winter crop production to support export activities.

Last year, struggling to overcome many difficulties, our province exported to the Soviet Union thousands of tons of agricultural products consisting of potatoes, garlic, dried pepper, carrots and so forth. This result is only an initial one. Given the characteristics of Thai Binh's farmland, our province still has many potentials that can be developed in order to step up the production of agricultural products with the aim of meeting export requirements in accordance with the agreement signed between our country and the Soviet Union on supplying vegetables and fruit to the Soviet Far East.

Thai Binh does not have much farmland. It has a large population and abundant labor. Some 48,000 hectares of the province's farmland, about 30 percent of its total farmland, are suited to winter crops. Winter crop production does not affect the two rice crops in any way. If winter agricultural products become export products of high economic value, the winter season will become a main production season. Thus, Thai Binh has initiated intensive cultivation and multicropping. The rivers and offshore waters of the province provide very favorable conditions for trade by water routes with the other localities and regions of the country. If we firmly adhere to the guideline "moving ahead on the basis of our land and labor, developing on the basis of rice, hogs and industrial crops" and if we organize the production of many agricultural products and create a significant volume of exports, we will make a major impact upon the effort to build the province's industrial-agricultural structure.

Since the time they first began, the export activities of Thai Binh have made significant contributions to the development of the economy of the entire country. For many years, Thai Binh has been recognized by the state as the leader in this field. In 1985, the province was awarded the Labor Order 1st

Class. However, among its exports, which are mainly handicraft art products, the percentage made up by agricultural products is still very small, which is not commensurate with the characteristics and strengths of an agricultural province in the Red River Delta. The reason for this is our failure to fully develop sources of agricultural products for exportation.

Grain, our province's primary product, is only being produced in quantities large enough to meet the needs of the locality and fulfill the obligation to the central level. Livestock products, namely, hogs, are mainly used to serve domestic needs. Hog exports are currently unstable. With 160,000 hectares of farmland, an average of 700 square meters per capita, Thai Binh has only one path to follow to build and develop the local economy, that is, to make every effort to develop agriculture, to consider agriculture the front of foremost importance, while developing small industry and the handicraft trades. Most importantly, it must make every effort to practice intensive cultivation to raise crop yields, practice multicropping and make the exportation of agricultural products the leading edge in stimulating the entire reproduction process of agriculture and industry. Therefore, the policy on developing winter crop production and creating exports, which was adopted on the occasion of the signing by the governments of Vietnam and the Soviet Union of the long-term cooperation agreement on vegetables and fruit, is an encouraging development to the people of Thai Binh.

The exportation of agricultural products will occupy a very important position in the province's economy. Today, we have a large and permanently stable consumer market for a very large quantity of products. Doing a good job of exporting agricultural products will help to stimulate the development of the local economy and, in particular, raise agricultural labor productivity and quickly develop Thai Binh's agriculture.

By stepping up the exportation of agricultural products, we will be able to import many types of supplies and raw materials to meet the needs of production within the locality, most importantly to support agricultural development. Last year, through the exportation of agricultural products alone, Thai Binh imported 800 tons of urea fertilizer, 35 tons of pesticides, 160 tons of petroleum products, 120 tons of seed... As a result of obtaining these materials, we were able to carry out economic contracts with farmers without difficulty. We procured many agricultural products and had goods that were very necessary in two-way trade with farmers in agricultural production. These trade goods made it possible to practice intensive cultivation, raise labor productivity and practice multicropping in agriculture. At the same time, product quality was improved. This is still having a widespread impact, even upon the locality's small industry and handicraft production, thereby making a very important contribution to the gradual formation of the province's industrial-agricultural economic structure. On the other hand, as a result of the development of winter crop production, jobs have been created for a component of the province's labor force. Through the exportation of agricultural products, we have accumulated some capital for agriculture (as evidenced in the direct investments made in agriculture). At the same time, we have helped to improve the standard of living within the province. Clearly, the production of winter crops for exportation has yielded economic benefits for the state, the collective and the individual laborer. Exporting

winter agricultural products is the correct course to follow, is a course consistent with building and developing the local economy. At the same time, it will meet objective requirements in the production and life of our province's people today.

To step up exports, we must organize and strongly develop the production of exports. Thai Binh's soil, weather and climate are suited to winter crops, particularly potatoes. Potatoes are very well suited to sandy soil and light loam. They occupy an important position in the winter season which is very compatible with the growing requirements of this crop. Potatoes are a grain crop, a food product crop and an export crop of high economic value.

Over the years, the people of Thai Binh have concentrated on producing potatoes. They have been raising this crop since 1975, with the strongest development of potatoe production occurring in 1979. However, this product did not become an export product because of the lack of a market. As a result, in early 1984, the amount of area under the cultivation of potatoes declined. In the winter seasons of 1984-1985 and 1985-1986, with the assistance of the Ministry of Food Industry, Thai Binh began exporting winter agricultural products, such as potatoes, cabbage, carrots... But the quantities exported were still very small and not commensurate with the real potentials and capabilities of the locality, nor did they meet the large needs of the outside market.

On the basis of soil conditions within our locality and the yields and quality of our products, the central level selected Thai Binh as the site of a nationwide pilot project in the production and exportation of potatoes. As a pilot project province, Thai Binh must provide 70 percent of the potatoes that the state has agreed to export to the Soviet Union. This is a legally binding plan that must be strictly implemented.

In Thai Binh, the largest amount of area under the cultivation of potatoes in any one year was 15,000 hectares. The average has been 7,000 hectares. Yields on individual fields have been as high as 18 tons per hectare and as low as 8 tons per hectare. If the amount of area under the cultivation of potatoes were as low as it was during the lowest years, 5,000 hectares, and an average yield of 10 tons were achieved, the province would still produce a potatoe output of 50,000 tons. If we exported one-tenth of this output, 5,000 tons would be exported. If, with the same amount of area under cultivation, we vigorously applied science and technology in the cultivation of potatoes, we could achieve a yield of 15 tons per hectare and raise output to 75,000 tons. This would enable us to export 15,000 tons per year. This is a very real potential, one that we have within our grasp if we organize production well and if correct state policies are adopted.

The decisive factor in acquiring export goods is not collecting exports, but producing exports and immediately resolving a series of other key problems directly related to the entire process of producing and circulating goods.

To begin with, it is necessary to organize production well.

The allocation of land for the planting of potatoes is related to the cultivation of early rice. Rice varieties with suitable growing periods must be selected so that the harvesting of rice can be completed between 1 and 10 October each year. The planting of potatoes must be completed between 10 and 25 October. Consequently, draft power must be very urgently moved around to keep pace with this schedule.

The areas allocated for the cultivation of potatoes must accommodate the 95 to 100 day growing season of potatoes. Potatoes cannot be harvested early. If they are, the product does not meet export requirements. Therefore, to stabilize the area under the cultivation of potatoes between now and 1990, the province must zone and plan production areas and centralize production in pilot project areas while developing potatoe production on a widespread basis. It must guide these pilot project areas well in order to open sources of potatoes for exportation and gain experience with which to provide guidance on the broader scale and using what is learned on the broader scale to augment the pilot projects, to guard against harsh weather conditions so that if the harvest of the pilot project areas is low, the export plan can still be met and the full quantity of goods required under the plan can be delivered to our friends. The province has chosen Vu Thu, Dong Hung, Quynh Phu and Hung Ha as the pilot project district of Thai Binh.

On the other hand, our province must resolve a number of important problems pertaining to production, such as selecting varieties of potatoes that are suited to the growing environment and produce high yields in the soil of the locality. A certain amount of land must be set aside for and capital must be invested in the development of new varieties. As regards fertilizer, in addition to inorganic fertilizer, organic fertilizer must be applied at a specific rate. If we plant 5,000 hectares of potatoes, we will need 1,500 tons of urea, 2,000 tons of phosphate fertilizer, 750 tons of potash fertilizer and 75,000 tons of livestock manure. Pesticides are needed so that we can deal with every possible situation that might arise and protect crops. To provide efficient irrigation and drainage for potatoes at the right time, it is necessary to have a full supply of hand-operated and mechanized equipment to promptly support the growth of the crop. Potatoes must be irrigated in three stages: the seedling stage, the stage of strongest tuber formation and when drought is encountered. At present, the scale of production is still small and centralized production areas have not been established. Therefore, production is still dependent upon nature and we do not have effective control over every aspect of the production process.

Secondly, we must organize the procurement, storage, transportation and delivery of products.

Circulation is a very important element of the reproduction process. Today, the province's Agricultural-Food Products Export Corporation is responsible for performing a number of other jobs, such as providing instructions concerning product standards, specifications and quality and organizing the procurement, grading, packaging, storage, transportation and delivery of products to receiving personnel at the port.

One especially important problem for us is that of packaging and preserving the quality of products during transportation. The value of goods can only be insured when this work is performed well. We must fully recognize the importance of this work in order to make appropriate investments in it and promptly supply packing crate wood so that the quality of exports can be maintained in exact accordance with specifications. The realities of the past 2 years have shown that if there are no packing crates or there is a shortage of packing crates, the other elements of production are disrupted and many products are lost and wasted because output cannot be fully utilized, opportunities to transport goods are missed, opportunities to receive goods from foreign ships are missed and so forth.

Thirdly, appropriate investments must be made in the construction of material bases to support production and export activities.

To insure that the full quantity of export products that meet standards and specifications and are of the correct quality is produced, we must have all the material-technical bases we need to directly support the entire production and circulation process. Between now and 1990, in addition to necessary production materials, such as fertilizer, seed potatoes, pesticides, irrigation booms and pumps and so forth, the state must, between now and 1990, invest in the construction of four complete warehouses in a number of districts of Thai Binh to store materials and goods. Storage facilities are needed to maintain the quality of fresh products such as potatoes, cabbage and so forth. Therefore, refrigerated storage facilities must be constructed in the various localities. To be able to promptly transport agricultural products to port piers, we need to have a number of trucks 5 tons or larger and 25 to 30 horsepower barge boats.

Fourthly, a number of specific policies must be adopted with the aim of encouraging the development of the production of agricultural products for exportation.

For those areas that are pilot project areas in the production of exported agricultural products, the state should adopt an appropriate investment policy so that producers have ample supplies of inorganic fertilizer, are able to provide efficient irrigation and drainage utilizing various types of pumps and have the equipment needed for production and to maintain the quality of products.

Exporting products is a very important strategic task, one reflected in the current economic policies of the party and state. Consequently, it is necessary to boldly make appropriate investments so that we can successfully produce export goods. If we hesitate to make investments or only invest one small amount at a time in the export economy, we will never have enough products to export. The sectors that bear direct responsibility for this matter must give their attention to promptly providing materials, equipment, grain and consumer goods and supplying the means necessary for production and everyday life to insure the development of the production of export products.

The prices of exported agricultural products must, above everything else, insure that production costs are met, provide an appropriate profit and enable

farmers to carry out expanded reproduction. The circulation expenses paid for the exportation of agricultural products must cover all reasonable costs and provide for the accumulation of some capital so that the province is able to organize and improve the delivery of products at seaports.

While awaiting specific guidelines from the central level concerning the use of foreign currency and direct investment procedures, the locality will continue to apply the mode of business of the Vietnam National Vegetable and Fruit Export-Import Corporation of buying in quantity and selling in individual units in Vietnamese currency. On the basis of the production materials supplied in advance by the Soviet Union, the Vietnam General Vegetable and Fruit Export-Import Corporation should supply necessary materials to the province in advance at the prices of the imports made possible by our exports and as required by the province. Only if the quantity of materials sold to us is equal to at least 50 percent of the province's net foreign currency revenues can the general requirements of the local economy be met. At the same time, it is suggested that the upper level grant the locality the authority to use foreign currency in the "buy in quantity, sell in individual units" mode so that the locality has a guideline by which to establish the relationship between the province and the districts and between the districts and the basic units.

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COLLECTING AND PRESERVING THE DOCUMENTS, SPEECHES, ARTICLES AND MEMORABILIA OF LE DUAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 45-46

[Article by TAP CHI CONG SAN ]

[Text] Le Duan was an outstanding son of the nation, a brilliant student of Uncle Ho, a distinguished leader of our party and people and a staunch militant of the international communist movement, the worker movement and the national liberation movement. He leaves behind a precious ideological and cultural legacy. This legacy is his documents, speeches, articles and personal effects. Together with the great legacy of Uncle Ho, the legacy of Le Duan is a very valuable part of the treasury of revolutionary heritage of our party, army and people. In order to record the enormous service and outstanding contributions of Le Duan to our country's revolution and utilize his precious ideological and cultural legacy in the education of our cadres, party members and people, the Party Secretariat has issued a decision on collecting and putting in order all the documents, speeches and articles of Le Duan and collecting items directly related to his revolutionary activities so that they can be compiled, published and sent to archives and museums. The Secretariat has also decided to compile the complete biography of Le Duan.

In accordance with the decision of the Secretariat, the Ho Chi Minh Institute has the task of collecting, putting in order and preserving the documents, speeches and articles of Le Duan. The Office of the Party Central Committee has the task of collecting, putting in order and preserving the top secret documents, speeches and articles of Le Duan and supporting their utilization in accordance with the policy on secret documents. The Ministry of National Defense and the General Staff have the task of collecting, putting in order and preserving the speeches and articles of Le Duan on military matters of a classified nature. The Ho Chi Minh Institute has the task of collecting and preserving items related to the activities of Le Duan and formulating a plan for establishing archives and exhibits. The above mentioned agencies must adopt a plan establishing a division of labor and close coordination among them in this work. The provincial party committees, municipal party committees and party committees directly subordinate to the Central Committee

and the various departments, sectors and mass organizations have the responsibility of collaborating with and assisting the above mentioned agencies in searching for, collecting and putting in order personal effects of Le Duan.

To implement this decision of the Secretariat, the party committees of all levels and sectors must concern themselves with leading cadres, party members and the people in collecting and preserving the documents, speeches, articles and personal effects of Le Duan.

In his 60 years of revolutionary struggle, Le Duan lived and worked in practically every region of our country. Many items and documents of his are still scattered among the people in various localities. If cadres, party members, the soldiers of the armed forces and the masses know that the party has adopted the policy of collecting the items and documents of Le Duan and clearly understand the significance of this work, everyone will certainly be willing to actively contribute. Anyone who currently possesses items and documents of Le Duan will happily turn them over to the responsible agencies so that they can be preserved and used in the interests of our people's revolutionary cause.

It is hoped that all localities and sectors will firmly adhere to the above policy of the party and fully implement the decision of the Secretariat so that fine results are achieved in the work of collecting and preserving the documents, speeches, articles and items of Le Duan.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: SOME MATTERS OF  
METHODOLOGY CONCERNING SOCIALIST BUSINESS IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 47-53

[Article by Vu Huu Ngoan]

[Text] Editorial Note: recently, to contribute to the draft Political Report to be presented at the 6th Congress of the Party, the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN held a scientific-practical conference on socialist business. Participating in this conference were:

- Nguyen Anh Bac, colonel, the Advanced Military Academy;
- Le Dang Doanh, department chief, the Central Economic Management Research Institute;
- Luu Van Dat, institute head, Ministry of Foreign Trade;
- Ngo Van Hai, specialist, Office of the Council of Ministers;
- Le Xuan Han, chief, Office of Plans, Power Tool Factory Number 1, Hanoi;
- Nguyen Huy, professor and acting head of the Institute of Economics of the Vietnam Social Science Commission;
- Nguyen Van Huy, deputy department chief, the Central Economic Management Research Institute;
- Nguyen Dang Khanh, department chief, Ministry of Home Trade;
- Chu Van Lam, M.S., assistant editor-in-chief of TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU KINH TE, the Institute of Economics, the Vietnam Social Science Commission;
- Pham Quang Loc, department chief, Ministry of Agriculture;
- Vu Huu Ngoan, editor-in-chief of TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU, the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;
- Hoang Huu Nhan, acting head of the Department of Industry of the Party Central Committee;
- Dao Xuan Sam, professor, head of the Economic Management Department of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;
- Tran Linh Son, professor, the Vietnam State Bank;
- Nguyen Van Son, professor and head of the Political Economics Department of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;
- Che Viet Tan, deputy head of the Department of Economics of the Party Central Committee;
- Ho Te, vice minister of finance;
- Nguyen Te, M.S., deputy section chief, Department of Economics of the Party Central Committee;

--Nguyen Dang Thanh, specialist, the Marx-Lenin Institute;  
--Pham Thanh, director of Su That Publishing House;  
--Le Duy Thuy, M.S., Institute of Economics, the Vietnam Social Science Commission;  
--Le Hong Tiem, deputy head of the Political Economics Department of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;  
--Phan Van Tiem, professor, Ph.D., and acting chairman of the State Price Commission;  
--Le Van To, specialist, the Department of Industry of the Party Central Committee;  
--Le Xuan Tung, professor and deputy director of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;  
--Vu Huy Tu, Ph.D., the Office of the Council of Ministers;  
--Le Van Vien, Ph.D., section chief, the Department of Economics of the Party Central Committee;  
--Tran Ngoc Vinh, M.S., department head, the Central Economic Management Research Institute.

Beginning with this issue, we are publishing excerpts of the speeches presented by these persons at the conference for study by our readers.

Today, business is an issue on the pressing agenda of all socialist countries and is part of the international explosion taking place in economic management within socialism. It raises a critical question in the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism: how to insure that socialism not only prospers, but prospers more than capitalism and is worthy of its fine character? The difficulties associated with this are these: first, how do we do business correctly and, secondly, how do we operate socialist business correctly? These difficulties are even greater in the case of our country--a country in which small-scale production has always been pervasive, a country more accustomed to fighting wars of resistance than performing economic work, a country in which the aftereffects of war are still serious, a country which must still deal on a daily basis with matters associated with war and whose hands are not entirely free to perform economic work.

Business is a mode by which man acts in the economic field. It is not, however, just any mode, but a mode defined by the framework of the specific stages in the history of social production--the stages in the existence of commodity-money relations. Whether we do business correctly or incorrectly, well or poorly is closely related to our conception of commodity relations, in general, especially socialist commodity relations. It can be said that the communists of the world have experienced the following three stages in gaining an understanding of socialist commodity relations:

In the first stage--the late 19th and early 20th centuries--when Marxism-Leninism was asserting itself as a revolutionary doctrine and the ideology of the working class, it was not easy to see that commodity relations would still exist in the future society (that is, socialism). This was something that was difficult to avoid at a time when the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism were concentrating on criticizing the huge pile of commodities created by capitalism and all its evil social consequences.

In the second stage, which occurred when socialist construction became a real need, the Soviets, following the instructions of Lenin in his new economic policy, reviewed the path along which they had been groping and breaking new ground, pointed out the existence of commodity relations in socialist society and considered them to be special commodity relations. The universal concept at that time was that commodity relations were a remnant of the old society scattered here and there within the new society. Consequently, although commodity relations could not be avoided, there were still deeply held preconceived opinions concerning these "evil remnants." This view persisted for many years--throughout the 1950's and 1960's and during the early years of the 1970's.

In the third stage, which has been underway for the past 10 years, a totally new concept has emerged. Namely, that commodity relations under socialism are not borrowed relations, but are part of the essence of socialism, part of the essence of the socialist economy. Of course, they are not the most essential relations nor are they the relations that characterize socialism. Thus, business, moreover, socialist business, is not something borrowed, something evil. To the contrary, it is one of the essential factors of socialist construction.

F. Engels pointed out that value is the overriding concept in a commodity economy. Therefore, the similarity of each form of business, the most essential element of business also revolves around this overriding concept. For life to correspond to the conditions of a commodity economy (and not be an artificial life), we must, in production as well as trade and consumption, make calculations based on value, that is, based on the amount of social labor time needed to produce or reproduce commodities. In production, it is necessary to raise labor productivity and improve production in order to reduce individual values to a level equal to or below social value if production is to be maintained and developed. Losses are anathema to a commodity producer. In consumption, we must likewise be selective because, when buying a product, we begin to use past labor embodied in money and it becomes essential that we use this past labor as effectively as possible. Buying high quality goods at low prices is always the imperative of the consumer. Thus, the use value of a commodity is also just not any use value, but must be, as K. Marx pointed out, use value for society. This means that the businessman cannot be arbitrary when determining the variety, quantity and quality of use value as it corresponds to each different period in life. In other words, he must always keep abreast of the current relationship between supply and demand and must, as a result, respond quickly to the market, because, the relationship between supply and demand reflects everything that there is on the surface of the market.

Business, even when its concept and elements are defined in a most abbreviated fashion as above, is the opposite of the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. Only by thoroughly dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies is it possible to shift to business. Conversely, only by shifting to business is it possible to make a complete break from bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. Dismantling the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting to

business are not two processes, but one. When doing one, we are simultaneously doing the other.

We are not shifting to any form of business, but to socialist business. Just as the relationships associated with goods and value embody the nature of society, business, rather than being natural relations, being a purely technical matter, also embodies social relations and production relations. President Ho taught us: in trade, the buyer always wants to buy at a low price, the seller always wants to sell at a high price. However, as we know, commodity relations are very equal and fair economic relations based on the principle of equal value. Thus, it is clear that business involves very delicate and complex production relations. In socialist business, these relations are even more delicate and complex and they become exceedingly delicate and complex in the period of transition to socialism, when socialist production relations are still in the process of being established and have not yet won total victory.

Socialist production relations, as well as all other production relations, are expressed first in the form of interests. Socialist business, consequently, must, above everything else, guarantee the system of economic interests of socialism. Because, as everyone knows, neither the concept nor the implementation of the system of socialist economic interests are simple. Socialist business must correctly and satisfactorily combine the interests of the nation with the interests of the locality and the interests of the basic unit; correctly and satisfactorily combine the interests of the whole and the interests of the parts of the whole; correctly and satisfactorily combine the interests of society, as represented by the state, with the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborers at basic economic units. Socialist business must also correctly and satisfactorily combine economic interests and political and spiritual interests. The starting point in calculating these interests must be the views that the people are the base and that the people are the genuine creators of interests, as Truong Chinh said. The policies on taxes, prices, wages, the distribution of profits, business product regulations and so forth play a practical role in establishing the complex relationship among these interests. Emphasizing one interest or another, one aspect of an interest or another is guidance that is only suited to a particular place and time, not guidance based on principles. For example, a few years ago, we had to correct the tendency to give light attention to the individual interests of the laborer, the interests of the basic unit and the interests of the locality. Now, we might have to correct the tendency to give light attention to the interests of the nation, which we call the interests of the central level. From the standpoint of the art of guidance, this emphasis is necessary. But, from the standpoint of theory, it is a mistake to make this practice a principle. Actually, the only firm principle is to correctly combine the various economic interests in a way that is well balanced. Only in this way is it possible to unleash the strongest possible forces with which to develop production and improve the standard of living throughout society. This is the ultimate goal of socialist business.

In practice, the issue of socialist business in our country today is colliding with our concepts of and approaches to the plan and the market. And, this has given rise to conflicting ideas and practices.

To consider the plan and the market to be synonymous or to consider them to be opposites are two incorrect extremes. The plan and the market are two different categories, both of which are necessary in life and each of which reflects a specific aspect of the national economy. The plan, that is, the state plan, is a subjective product but must reflect objective laws. The market is objective relations but is structured by the subjective activities of man.

The state plan is the most direct product of planning. In it, man, as represented by the proletarian dictatorship state, applies economic laws and scientific-technical laws, most importantly the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned economic development, in order to calculate, predict and establish socio-economic balances during each period in a conscious way with the aim of carrying out economic and cultural development for the purpose of raising the standard of living. Commodity relations are applied as an economic relationship and the law of value is applied as an economic law. This means that the state plan must fulfill its role of controlling the social labor force and applying the law of distribution in accordance with labor, or that it must apply the scientific-technological revolution under specific technical laws. To be correct, the state plan must reflect the organic interrelationship and consciously established balances among the various factors of the social reproduction process and of the laborers, sectors and areas of the country. The state plan not only encompasses commodity relations, but also relations that do not involve commodities, such as cadre training, cultural and educational development, supporting the frontlines, more in the political sense than economically, etc. Of course, many economic balances (but not all) are calculated and established by making direct or indirect use of commodity relations and monetary tools. From this perspective, the state plan is a model, a mode and a tool of socialist business. At the same time, it is the product of planning socialist business at each basic unit, within each locality and nationwide. In other words, we must plan socialist business and, when planned correctly, this business also reflects the socialist nature of the business we call socialist business.

If we give light attention to using the tool that is the state plan, the socialist nature of business is stripped away. Conversely, if the state plan only encompasses subsidized planning, the heart of business is removed, thus making the "socialist nature" of business an empty phrase without basis.

Whereas the state plan reflects relationships that must be balanced, consciously balanced, among the factors that exist in the process of the movement and development of the national economy, the market reflects other relationships--the mutually dependent but very equal relationships of the division of social labor under the conditions of a commodity economy. The market is the sum of the conditions and relationships under and through which commodities are consumed. It encompasses all actions involved in trade and the impact of the tools of prices, money, finance, wages, etc. Under

capitalism, there is not and cannot be even the smallest amount of public ownership; therefore, there is only one homogeneous market based on private ownership. Conversely, in certain stages of socialism, particularly in the period of transition, when the economy still consists of many segments that differ from one another in terms of the scope and the fundamental nature of their production relations but which must be coordinated within a common relationship, the social market is distinguished by the nature and structure of the different components that make up this market. We often say that the social market consists of two types of markets--the organized market and the "free" market, which are dependent upon and unified with each other but which also struggle against each other. From an objective standpoint, the organized market must control the direction of development. And, the "free" market is no longer the same "free" market it was under the old system.

When the state plan defines and meets needs in a way that is consciously balanced, many capabilities exist and many methods, some direct, some indirect, must be employed. Of these, the social market, which consists of both the organized market and the "free" market, is a very important and highly dynamic indirect method. Not only is the law of value in effect in social production, but the law of planned and balanced development is in effect as well. Therefore, the law of value must be reflected in the relationship between supply and demand, that is, in practical terms, supply and demand force us to comply with the law of value. This is the beauty of the impact of the law of value as stated by K. Marx in his famous work--"Das Capital."

Here, we encounter an exceedingly complex phenomenon: the market is both the object of planning and a method used to conduct planning. We must plan the organized market and draw the "free" market into the orb of the state plan. At the same time, we must adjust the plan on the basis of actual developments on the market. In other words, we must guide the market while being on the lookout for and utilizing the market's entrenched but highly sensitive and flexible factor of "spontaneity." Thus, guiding the national economy by means of our primary tool, the state plan, does not mean ignoring the market. To the contrary, the market is utilized in the best and most rational manner possible. In fact, the market is an objective phenomenon of a commodity economy, is the economic mechanism of a commodity economy. What we oppose is not the market mechanism, but the singleminded pursuit of the spontaneous mechanism of the non-transformed "free" market, thus diminishing the use of the state plan.

Of course, because our country is bypassing the stage of capitalist development in order to advance directly to socialism and we are only in the initial stage, a stage in which the economy is still in a period of tremendous turbulence and convulsion and it is necessary to piece together and form the threads of economic ties, the state plan cannot extend beyond the scope necessary. Here, good business dictates that we know what the appropriate limits of the state plan are. Most importantly, it must only plan the production and circulation of those products that are strictly related to the national balance, to the destiny of the national economy. Moreover, it must employ many flexible methods of planning, such as reducing the number of legally binding norms, attaching importance to formulating plans from the

basic level upward, increasing the use of indirect methods, etc. We must make considerable use of the self-regulating factors of the market, factors which continue to be a part of society under the conditions of a commodity economy. The current situation shows that the observation made by the 6th Plenum and the recent 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee is accurate: we must criticize and overcome bureaucratic centralism, state subsidies, conservatism and stagnation as well as decentralization, disorder, the lack of organization and anarchy. A state plan that is rigid and a method of planning that is bureaucratic will cause harm. However, failing to strengthen the organized market, allowing the "free" market to drift on its own and relaxing our efforts in the field of socialist transformation also pose a large danger. Cold facts have shown us that the "free" market when not transformed, restructured or reorganized causes tremendous confusion regarding many solutions to the problems of prices, wages and money, even quickly renders correct solutions ineffective.

Good business in our country at this point in time also means boldly shifting to economic accounting. This is a special form, a special method of business of basic economic units under socialism. It demands that basic units be materially accountable and financially autonomous, that they meet their own needs and earn a profit.

Economic accounting in conjunction with the widespread development of economic contracts beginning at the very start of planning periods are a very suitable form of existence and development of the state plan under our country's current conditions.

Lastly, the overriding factor, the factor pervading each form and activity of socialist business in our country today should be not to restrict but to further stimulate the development of commodity production and trade. It must be remembered that developed commodity production must be a system of production that exceeds a certain point of value, that is, exceeds necessary labor. When this is achieved, we take, in the analysis of V.I. Lenin, one of the two necessary steps from small-scale to large-scale production. The first step is from subsistent production to commodity production. The second step is from commodity production to large-scale production. Of course, this analysis is scientific abstraction. In practice, we are advancing to commodity production and trying to upgrade a portion of the economy to socialist commodity production even in the first stage. There is no wall separating the stages.

For persons who have become the masters of their country for the first time, business, in general, is something entirely new and difficult. Socialist business is even newer and more difficult. It is even more difficult for a country, a society and a people who do not have a tradition of performing economic work, even though our nation has always had to produce, to survive and develop. To us, the era of socialist construction is, at the same time, the era in which our nation turns its hands to building a new tradition, because, socialism is, in essence, an economic undertaking. We must have a full picture of all the difficult and hard steps that lie ahead. We have no alternative but to grope, experiment and select. And, in order for groping, experimenting and selecting to truly become a method of development, we must

conduct more pilot projects and reviews. The aims here are to achieve consensus within the party and chart a course that will solve the problems of our country's economy.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: THE BASIC FEATURES OF SOCIALIST BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 54-60

[Article by Le Duc Thuy]

[Text] Business is the field of economic activity that encompasses all phenomena and economic processes which directly reflect the cycle of the factors of production in the continuous process of the production and reproduction of the social product. Business units or organizations, the basic elements of a given socio-economic system, undertake a specific and direct function that arises from the cycle of production factors and is fixed by the division of social labor. The business activities of a business organization essentially entail the establishment and management of its economic associations and relations in accordance with a specific mechanism with the aim of realizing specific economic interests through the function it undertakes within the system that is the division of social labor.

Business and the economy are not synonymous. As defined by political-economics, the economy is, most importantly, the sum of the specific historical production relations of a given system of production relations. This system consists of many different layers of production relations and reflects the different essential levels of a specific kind of socio-economic system, from those relations that are most essential and fundamental to those which go no deeper than the surface of economic life.

The field of business, on the other hand, only encompasses those production relations that lie on the surface of economic life. These relations are those that directly reflect the process of implementing, from an economic standpoint, the right to own means of production, that is, the process of realizing the economic interests of the participants in the system of social production in a given historical age. The business mechanism is business plus a specific system of production relations and consists of all the forms, means, methods and tools used to stimulate and guarantee the ability to realize, in practical terms, the objective economic interests established by a given mode of production or, more specifically, by a given system of ownership of the means of production.

The concepts "economic management" and "business" are also different in certain ways. Economic management is a more general and broader concept than business. It encompasses organizing, arranging and managing each factor, each element and each process, direct or indirect, necessary for the movement and development of the entire economy (the entire system of production relations and all sectors and fields of the national economy), which include elements and activities directly linked to fulfilling specific functions in the production cycle--that is, business activities--and other elements and activities which are not directly linked to these functions but are still necessary in economic life, such as forecasts and projections, zoning and planning, the keeping of statistics, cadre training, etc. However, in the final analysis, these other activities of management have the purpose of supporting the needs of business with regard to insuring the continuous expansion of the reproduction of material wealth for the sake of the interests of the owners of the means of production. Therefore, as long as the organization of business activities is unified with economic management, the business mechanism and the economic management mechanism are essentially one.

Every social system has its own separate style of business, a style determined by this society's mode of production. This applies to socialist business, as well. It is fundamentally different from every style of business that preceded it in history, different in terms of its scope and nature as well as its mode. This can be clearly seen by comparing socialist business to capitalist business.

1. Socialist business is the first type of business to be unified on a society-wide scale. Prior to the emergence of socialist business and due to private ownership of the means of production, business activities could only be activities conducted separately and independently of one another by enterprises, corporations or monopolies. Although these activities could not take place without certain internal and external economic ties and relations on the part of basic business units and although, in the final analysis, all the specific economic functions undertaken by a capitalist enterprise or corporation stemmed from the needs related to the movement of the production factors of the system of social production as a unified entity, these activities emerged as independent fields of activity by certain individuals or capitalist groups whose only concern was to achieve the quickest possible business cycle and realize the largest possible profits, regardless of whether this helped to stimulate or impeded the normal movement of the factors of social production. Here, the individual processes of reproduction do not directly, or from the very outset, merge with the process of social reproduction. The latter is only the average result of countless substantive changes that cannot be controlled by society and, therefore, emerges as a blind and mysterious force behind the businessman's back. In the field of business, there are countless business entities, all operating under different and conflicting guidelines and targets.

The establishment of the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production, most importantly and primarily national ownership, shattered the narrow scope of private business and expanded business to the scope of all society. As the communal owner of the basic means of production, society has become the single producer and the single consumer and emerged as a single

business entity managing the cycle of production factors within a unified social reproduction process. This, however, does not mean that society takes over the functions of the basic business units within the machinery of social production. The cycle of production factors is carried out in every society through basic business units that directly perform a certain function in this process. However, national ownership of the means of production causes the cycles of individual processes of reproduction to directly merge with the process of social reproduction and become organic parts of this process. The special characteristic of the movement of production factors at every business unit is that this movement is a separate process. However, it directly supports each process of social reproduction, in general, because the means by which this movement occurs are the common assets of all society, assets managed on a unified, society-wide scale by a unified business entity represented by the state. As a result, under national ownership of the means of production, the business activities of each business unit cannot be considered the separate activities of these units.

Conversely, with the process of reproduction of individual business units being synonymous with the process of social reproduction, we do not see special factors arising as a result of the relative separation, in economic terms, among business units, which cause the cycle of production factors on the business unit level, especially when the status of business units is still that of commodity producers and traders, to lead to a high degree of centralization of business activity and irrational intervention in processes which only the basic units have the conditions needed to correctly decide, thus violating the business autonomy of business units. This reduces the socio-economic returns from business--which are a specific form of economic interests under socialism--and also means that the economic aspect of national ownership of the means of production is not implemented or not fully implemented.

For this reason, the base of socialist business, the most fundamental principle of business activity under socialism is democratic centralism.

The dialectical unity between centralism and democracy in socialist business encompasses the ability to dynamically resolve non-antagonistic contradictions between the two. It can be said that the entire history of socialist business has been a process of searching for optimum ways to combine centralism and democracy, the basic requirements of which are to establish a rational balance between the two and, on this basis, guarantee the true business autonomy of business units in using the means given them by society to perform the task assigned to them as efficiently as possible.

## 2. Socialist business is business for the sake of the interests of all society.

As analyzed above, business is the process of implementing, in economic terms, the right of ownership of the means of production, is the process whereby the owner, through a specific economic function, realizes his economic interests in practical terms. Private ownership defines the highest goal of business as the private interests of the businessman. To realize these interests, the businessman can invest his assets in any field, provided that he earns the

greatest possible profit for himself, regardless of how this affects the common life of society. Conversely, national ownership of the means of production makes the interests of all society the highest and most fundamental interests of socialist business. Business units, regardless of the sector or field in which they operate, set their direction and are stimulated by the inherent common and objective goals of the socialist economic system: satisfying the constantly rising and developing needs of each member of society more fully with each passing day.

However, direct social production does not exclude other forms of interests as components of the objective system of interests under socialism, a system defined by the structure of the system of socialist production relations.

The relative separation, in economic terms, that exists among socialist enterprises gives rise to special collective economic interests. The special nature of these interests stems from the relatively separate cycles of the production factors given to each business unit by society together with the special results created by the movement of these cycles. Collective interests orient the activities of the collective first toward the achievement of its own special results with the aim of meeting the production and non-production needs of the collective more fully. This might not be entirely consistent with the interests of society, with the final results achieved by the national economy. This non-antagonistic contradiction between collective interests and the interests of all the people is solved by society by constantly strengthening the direct relationship between the extent to which the needs of the collective of laborers is met and the contribution made by the collective to the final results achieved by the national economy. It demands the constant refinement of the system of norms by which the results of the activities of business units are evaluated and the use of corresponding economic tools and levers to orient the activities of the collective in the direction that is most consistent with the interests of all society.

Under socialism, every member of society is an equal owner of the means of production which belong to all society. As a result, every person is the subject of national interests and the subject of the special collective interests of the collective of which he is a member. Satisfying national interests and the interests of the collective also means that the interests of each individual are definitely being satisfied.

However, individual interests are always individualistic in nature. This stems from differences in the skills, the cultural and specialized standards and the needs of different laborers. As the subject of national interests and collective interests, the laborer orients his activities toward accelerating the advancement of technology, developing production forces and increasing the socio-economic returns from production in order to achieve a better common welfare. As the subject of his own individual interests, this person's first efforts are to satisfy his own individual needs. Here, a non-antagonistic contradiction also arises between the interests of the individual and the interests of the collective and the nation. It, too, is resolved by establishing a direct correlation between the extent to which the needs of every individual are met and the contribution in the form of labor made by this individual to the common results achieved by the collective and society.

Therefore, constantly improving forms and methods with the aim of more thoroughly implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor is one of the basic requirements of business under socialism and permits every effort of the individual to be directed toward the common goal.

Interests are always the moving force behind business, including socialist business. National ownership of the means of production is what determines the unity of economic interests under socialism and insures the ability to combine these interests in a way that is well balanced. Here, the paramount position and dominant role of national interests are achieved on the basis of creating the conditions for every collective and individual to display activism in labor by always giving attention to and making use of the direct stimulation of the interests of the collective and the individual. In essence, socialist business is the process of doing that which benefits all society, in general, and, as such, must benefit each collective and each individual laborer economically. The autonomy of the business unit, which is an indispensable prerequisite to efficient business under socialism--is nothing more than a system of measures, tools and regulations which insures that business units can satisfy the interests of their collectives and individuals to the fullest degree possible as long as these interests are not in conflict with national interests.

### 3. Socialist business is business activities that are organized and planned on a society-wide scale.

Expanding the scope of business to all society for the sake of the interest of society cannot be done if business is conducted in a spontaneous and ungoverned manner by business units that are isolated from one another. On the other hand, national ownership of the means of production creates the conditions for coordinating business under a unified, society-wide plan. Society, represented by the state, can manage the business activities of all sectors, levels and elements in accordance with a common plan. Being planned becomes the distinctive mode of business under socialism.

This planned nature can be expressed in many different aspects of business. However, the overriding aspect is that being planned means national regulation--through a variety of different forms, methods and means--of the production and distribution of the social products directly for the purposes of meeting all the social and welfare needs and insuring the full development of each member of society. Due to this special characteristic, the planned nature of business makes it possible for the activities and the development of socialist production to be universally social in form. Only in the form of direct and planned ties in social production can the entire system of socialist production relations and the economic laws under socialism--which include commodity-money relations and the law of value--meet their requirements and fulfill their purposes.

Under the system of private capitalist ownership of the means of production, it is mainly the law of value that regulates production. Through the law of value and through the market mechanism, the law of surplus value and the other economic laws of capitalism are implemented. Under public, socialist ownership of the means of production, production is regulated primarily by the

law of planned development. Through the mechanism of the law of planned development, the system of economic laws of socialism--of which the law of value is a component factor--are applied in the regulation of social production. For this reason, planning becomes the center of the socialist business mechanism. Strengthening and refining planning to insure and increase the effectiveness of the planned, centralized leadership of the national economy is the main guideline in the establishment and refinement of the new business mechanism--socialism.

This guideline encompasses an exceedingly important factor, namely, recognizing and thoroughly applying the positive, objective and inherent role of commodity-money relations and the law of value in order to organize, in a planned way, socialist business activity and achieve the highest possible returns. As relations and as a law that exist objectively under socialism and due to the influence and control exerted by the special economic laws of socialism, the socio-economic substance of which is new, commodity-money relations and the law of value become part of the system of inherent production relations and laws of socialism, become a special form of expression of direct social relations and, therefore, become an irreplaceable means for achieving the economic essence of socialism, become a necessary factor of the socialist business mechanism. They are used as tools to increase the concern, in material terms, of collectives and laborers for the development of production. Without commodity-money relations and the law of value, it is impossible to apply any of the special laws of socialism.

The impact of the law of value (when the law of value and the special economic laws of socialism are still influencing one another and when the law of value is controlled by the special economic laws of socialism) upon the activities of enterprises--the new style commodity producers--causes the emergence of a new type of economic relations unique to socialism, economic accounting relations. These relations reflect the movement and utilization of production factors in the business process of socialist enterprises. They combine the special economic forms of reproduction by individual producers under socialism. Economic accounting relations are the system of relations between enterprises and society, among enterprises and within each enterprise. They form in an objective manner and are consciously applied to insure consistency between the results of the operations of business units and the materials, labor and financial resources provided by society in a planned manner for the purpose of fulfilling a specific function on the basis of making planned use of commodity-value tools and levers and their new factors with the aim of satisfying the objective economic interests that exist under socialism.

As a result of applying economic accounting relations--through the economic accounting system--it is possible to carry out the planned organization of social production when commodity production still exists; create material concern by business units for the completion of the tasks of the state plan; and develop the activism, initiative and creativity of collectives and individual laborers in expanding production, improving product quality, reducing social labor costs and more promptly meeting the varied and constantly changing needs of production and life. Economic accounting permits the dynamic resolution of the antagonisms of socialist business. On the one hand, it is an activity that is unified on a society-wide scale, an activity

organized and planned by society for the sake of the interests of each member of society. On the other hand, it is implemented through the activities of business units that are, in economic terms, relatively separate from one another as well as by commodity producers with their special collective and individual interests. Therefore, economic accounting becomes, in an objective way, the primary mode of organizing business activities on the basic unit level under socialism. Strengthening and refining the economic accounting system are one of the most important factors in increasing the planned nature of socialist business when commodity production and trade still exist.

In summary, socialist business is business activities that are unified on a society-wide scale, are conducted for the sake of the interests of all society and are organized in a planned manner through a single economic center, the socialist state. However, socialist business is directly carried out by business units that are, in economic terms, relatively independent of one another. These units have their own special collective and individual interests and emerge as new style, socialist commodity producers and traders. The returns from socialist business depend upon the degree of activism and initiative of the business unit and upon vital concern on the part of the collective and individual laborer for the completion of assigned tasks. Therefore, the fundamental principle of socialist business is democratic centralism. It demands that we strengthen the state's centralized, unified leadership of business activity on the basis of guaranteeing the business autonomy of basic units in completing the tasks of the state plan. This can only be achieved by means of a system of tools and measures designed to create the conditions needed to satisfy the interests of the collective and the individual interests of the laborers at each business unit to the fullest extent possible as long as these interests are consistent with national interests. The most suitable mode for meeting the requirements being faced is the economic accounting system. Through this system, the dialectical contradictions between centralism and democracy, between the interests of the nation and the interests of the collective and individual, between the planned nature and the commodity nature of socialist business are resolved in a dynamic and satisfactory manner.

The period of transition is not a period in which the above features of socialist business are fully or completely evident. Because, the new, socialist style of business has yet to assume the position of absolute dominance due to the fact that the internal bases of socialism have not been completely established and the fact that the old, non-socialist style of business has yet to be completely removed from socio-economic life. The business mechanism that exists during the period of transition, by necessity, includes transitional, intermediary, non-socialist and semi-socialist factors. However, even under the conditions of the period of transition, the establishment of the business mechanism must be guided by the special features and the requirements of socialist business because socialist production relations have assumed the dominant role and because the ultimate goal of the period of transition is socialism.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: SOME INITIAL THOUGHTS  
ON THE NATURE OF SOCIALIST BUSINESS

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[Article by Le Xuan Tung]

[Text] Business is an economic category that is closely tied to commodity production. It reflects the relations among persons in the production, distribution, trade and consumption of society's material wealth for the purpose of achieving a larger value than the value initially invested. This is the immediate goal of and the prerequisite to each basic unit going into business and maintaining its business.

In the subsistent economy, the concept "business" did not exist. Here, people produce solely for their own consumption, solely to satisfy immediate needs. What they needed, they produced. If anyone did compare the cost of the labor expended to the results achieved, it was a cursory comparison at best. A person cannot do business with himself. Because production and products were not evaluated by society, because there was no social standard of measurement, there was no strong force stimulating the development of production, the improvement of technology or the rationalization of the organization of labor.

Business was born with the emergence of private ownership of the means of production and the division of social labor, that is, with the emergence of simple commodity production and value relations. However, small-scale commodity producers operated under the formula H-T-H, their aim being to realize use value, which was not related in any way to business. In pre-capitalist society, business activity was only related to a segment of the population. This activity involved commercial capital and capital for high interest loans. These forms of capital were used under the formulas T-H-T' and T-T'. Business became large in scale and diverse in form in the capitalist system, when the goal of each economic activity became value, more correctly, surplus value and profit. Under socialism, due to the continued existence of commodity production, business activity remains but its nature and principles are qualitatively new.

In "Das Kapital," K. Marx distinguished between two types of capital: propertied capital and functional capital. Propertied capital is capital that is "dead," that lies still. Functional capital is the operating capital, the

business capital that makes "dead" capital "living" capital. The system and style of business depend upon the style and nature of the ownership of the means of production. Capitalist ownership gave birth to the capitalist style of business, the goal of which is surplus value. The means for achieving this goal is the exploitation of hired labor. The method of business is commercial accounting. The mode of business is spontaneous competition, is "big fish eating little fish." Socialist ownership gave birth to the socialist style of business, the goal of which is to constantly improve the material and spiritual standard of living of the laboring people by developing production on the basis of socialist collective ownership and by applying increasingly modern scientific and technical achievements. The method of business is economic accounting. The mode of business is conscious planning.

On the other hand, business relations have a reciprocal impact upon ownership relations. Ownership relations determine the social character of business, determine its goals and direction of movement. However, ownership relations do not, of themselves, create or create additional products and value. They are only the basic prerequisite to business. In order to create products and value, ownership relations must be implemented through business relations. It is as a result of business activity that ownership is implemented in economic terms. The more efficient business activity is, the greater is the extent to which ownership, in economic terms, is implemented. Business always supports the system of ownership. It is the activity which follows the establishment of ownership. Business, regardless of who is conducting it and regardless of the form it assumes, always plays the role of taking ownership from the plane of a form, from the legal plane and making it a practical reality. This is something that can be perceived on the surface of social life.

At present, in dictionaries and economic books, definitions of business are either lacking or very simple.

In my opinion, in its most general sense, business is the combination of a mode, methods, forms and measures with the aim of organizing economic activities in order to effectively implement, in economic terms, a given system of ownership of the means of production.

Taking this analysis further, socialist business consists of the following components:

- Planning, the heart of socialist business;
- Economic accounting, the backbone of socialist business;
- Economic levers (prices, wages, finance, credit, profits, the supplying and marketing of products) manifested in specific economic policies;
- Non-economic levers, such as the law, attitudes, thinking and so forth, that have an impact upon the economy;
- The various forms of business organization (the business apparatus and the forms of business).

In summary, socialist business consists of three main components: a mode, methods and forms of organization of business. These components are part of both the infrastructure and the superstructure but all have the common goal of making an impact upon economic activities.

When understood in the manner presented above, socialist business is synonymous with the socialist economic mechanism(\*) .

Socialist business is both a science and an art. It is a science because it is controlled by economic laws and is the result of the application of these laws. It is an art because it demands dynamism, skill and sensitivity, demands the development and implementation of optimum plans and the most effective measures in complex economic situations.

In business activities, attention is given first to input (costs incurred) and output (recovering capital and earning a profit). Consequently, the category of business income (or profit) is of foremost significance in business activities. It is the immediate goal of each basic economic unit and the standard by which the business activities of each basic economic unit are evaluated. Of course, business income cannot be earned in any form or by any measure contrary to the nature of socialist business. At the same time, profit and loss should not be calculated purely from the standpoint of the entire national economy. While the majority of basic business units must earn an appropriate profit, a small number of basic business units, due to certain special conditions, temporarily fail to earn the necessary business income. However, their activities are still necessary for the economy, consequently, the state must adopt a policy to compensate them for their losses or subsidize their prices.

Economic accounting plays a positive, central role in earning business income. If it is lacking or given light attention, it cannot be said that socialist business and business income truly exist. Socialist business is not at all compatible with subsidization within the economy, the characteristics of which are "allotments-deliveries," "receive all, spend all," "real costs-real income" and so forth and which does not require that profit or loss be calculated. If there is not a complete break with subsidization and a bold shift to business practices, the backbone of which are economic accounting, the resources needed to maintain normal economic activities will sooner or later be depleted.

Depending upon the nature of production relations, specific styles (systems) of business have emerged: business in the pre-capitalist system of production (commercial capital, capital for high interest loans), capitalist business and socialist business.

In turn, different types of business have emerged, such as industrial business, agricultural business, commercial business, the service business, the export-import business, the finance business, the banking business, the tourist business, the scientific-technical business (with the exception of a number of fields of basic science), etc.

In "Das Kapital," to avoid business being understood as only meaning trade or commerce, K. Marx talked about different types of business, such as industrial business, agricultural business, the commerce business, the money business and so forth. Therefore, it is superfluous and redundant to say "production and business" because production is business, just as trade is business. To denote a specific type of business, we must place an adjective before the word

"business"(industrial business, agricultural business, the money business, etc.)

In light of the above definition and explanation of socialist business, it can be seen that socialist business and economic accounting are not synonymous. Business is broader than economic accounting. It encompasses economic accounting. Whereas socialist business is the combination of the mode, methods and forms of organization of economic activities, economic accounting is only one of the methods and tools of socialist business. More fully stated, economic accounting is an economic category, a business method and a tool of economic management. It is an economic category because it reflects socialist production relations, reflects the relations among persons in the process of production and reproduction based on the public ownership of the means of production and carried out in accordance with a common, unified plan and in a direction set by common policies and standards based on uniting and balancing the three different types of interests: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer.

It is a business method because it is part of a style of business that is planned, that uses money to measure the expenditures and results of business, uses the income of the enterprise itself to cover costs and earn business income and holds the enterprise materially accountable by means of material rewards and penalties. It guarantees and encourages the display of initiative and dynamism by enterprises in many fields. Through this method, it is the strongest lever stimulating the enterprise to meet and exceed its plan quotas.

Economic accounting is an effective economic management tool, one which guarantees that the business of the enterprise moves in the direction charted by the state plan, thus serving the interests of all society while providing broader autonomy for basic units and individual laborers. It is an economic management tool that employs predominantly economic measures. It creates the internal and external conditions necessary for the enterprise to move on its own and for the state as well as the enterprise to inspect its activities.

On the basis of this understanding of the relationship between economic accounting and socialist business, it is necessary to re-examine the following ways of speaking and writing:

--Economic accounting and socialist business (two independent and equally valid categories);

--Economic accounting, socialist business... (in this case, reference is being made to both the particular and the general when it is the general that encompasses the particular);

--Accounting, socialist business (the concept of accounting defined as ordinary arithmetic calculations characteristic of socialist business methods).

In summary, socialist business is the overriding, most pervasive category in each economic activity. Everything from the plan, finance, banking (money, credit), home trade, foreign trade, prices and so forth to the various

material production sectors must be based on business (and, conversely, business must be governed by a plan). And, to insure that business is efficient, all types of business must be based on the principle of cost accounting.

Born on the basis of a qualitatively new economy, socialist business operates under specific principles. Here, we will present the principles that are most general and are also the hot spots in everyday business practice in our country at the present time.

a) Most importantly, each business activity under socialism must be based on the system of democratic centralism. From an economic standpoint, centralism stems from public ownership of the means of production, which is the basis for unifying the interests and actions of the persons participating in the division of social labor. From a political standpoint, it is the role of the proletarian dictatorship state, the leader and organizer of business activities and the representative of the interests of all the people. Centralism insures that each business activity is well coordinated and creates a combined force with which to perform socio-economic tasks. It insures the development and utilization of potentials and resources in the most economical manner possible and guarantees the implementation of the political guidelines of business. Centralism is not the opposite of democracy. Rather, its vitality and effectiveness are based on broadening the practice of democracy. The more thorough the practice of democracy is, the more correct and effective centralism becomes. Doing differently causes bureaucratic centralism. On the other hand, democracy which is not based on centralism leads to business activities that are characterized by spontaneity, anarchy, decentralization, localism and competition, which cause labor and material wealth to be wasted and render the business activities of each basic economic unit ineffective. Therefore, centralism and democracy are the two aspects of a resolved contradiction, each of which is the prerequisite and condition for the other to exist and develop.

The problem facing us today is to achieve a truly proper degree of centralism while fully expanding the practice of democracy. The economic organizations above basic units can and must focus their leadership and their management organization on those fields and aspects that are of most fundamental importance and are related to the interests of the whole or the broad scope. The ability of the upper levels to provide direct management also depends upon the material conditions they possess, their ability to keep abreast of information and their management and coordinating skills. If these conditions cannot be provided, management responsibilities must be assigned to the lower levels in accordance with the general regulations of the upper levels. The relative separation between the functions of administrative-economic management and business management is one of the important bases guaranteeing a proper degree of centralism for the management agencies on the upper levels and the broadening of democracy on the lower levels. Political Bureau Resolution 306 (draft) on the autonomy of basic units is a new step in the direction of broadening the practice of democracy for basic units and achieving a proper degree of centralism on the upper levels. However, in order for this position to be implemented, time, steadfast guidance and well coordinated, consistent policies are needed. The current situation, namely,

centralism marked by entrenched bureaucracy, is the result of not maintaining close contact with basic units, the result of an apparatus that consists of many layers and intermediary echelons and the result of many outmoded systems and policies. In many cases, the central management level has neglected management work. At the same time, it has shown a lack of resolve by indulging and reconciling differing opinions in resolutions on management. Even on the central level, guidance and management are still decentralized and uncoordinated and are frequently counter-productive and contradictory.

The inevitable consequences of this situation are the strong doing as they please, are disorder, decentralization and doing whatever suits convenience in the business operations of the lower levels. It is also necessary to overcome the tendency to place sole emphasis either upon centralism or democracy--which is the origin of bureaucratic centralism as well as excessive democracy.

b) Socialist business must support the political task of the proletarian dictatorship. Politics is the mirror of the economy, is the economy in microcosm, is a reflection of the economic interests of the ruling class. The economy determines politics. At the same time, politics has a reciprocal impact upon the economy, either stimulating or impeding the economic process. In the view of Marxism-Leninism, the economy determines politics but politics occupies the position of foremost importance. This means that in the performance of economic tasks, we must insure that our political views are correct. Economic work and business activities are not objectives in and of themselves but must have the aim of carrying out the political, economic and social tasks set by the party and state. This demands that when performing economic and business tasks, we must take the view of the overall interests of the national economy as opposed to local interests and that we combine the three different types of interests in a way that is well balanced.

Business activities must have the aims of improving the standard of living and increasing the scale of capital formation in order to develop production. Business returns must be achieved mainly on the basis of developing production (not by taking advantage of unreasonable differences in prices).

In their business activities, enterprises also should not chase after output and ignore or give light attention to product quality purely for the sake of avoiding losses or realizing a profit. They must oppose every type of unlawful "phantom" operation and display a high sense of responsibility to the consumer and society.

While focusing efforts on developing production and operating a profitable business, light attention should never be given to carrying out transformation and strengthening and perfecting the new, socialist production relations. Each kind of business operation that is concerned only with material resources and value, that blurs and erodes the relations among persons within the economy, that reduces the position and role of the socialist economy, supports unlawful activities and throws the door wide open to the activities of the "free" market cannot be tolerated among business units, which are the cells of the socialist economy.

From the standpoint of overseas economic relations, our main base of support in building the economy is the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The view that politics takes precedence over the economy demands that we strengthen our close economic cooperation with the socialist countries, most importantly the Soviet Union. This is in the basic and long-range political and economic interests of our country and will help to strengthen the socialist community. It is also a matter of strategic significance, an immutable principle. It demands that we fulfill our economic commitments to the fraternal countries and not violate these commitments for the sake of partial, temporary interests. Recently, in the business activities of some sectors, localities and basic units, this guideline has not been correctly followed and a clear political viewpoint has not been expressed in business. Everyone now clearly sees the harm this causes.

c) Business must be conducted in accordance with the state plan. This is one of the fundamental differences between socialist business and capitalist business. In contrast to capitalism's spontaneous, competitive business, which is based on the market mechanism and uses the law of value as the main tool in regulating the economy, socialist business must be based on the state plan and use the plan as the main tool in regulating the economy. In view of the conditions that exist in our country today, this means that the state sets the primary goals, the primary balances and the primary norms and measures for achieving socio-economic development. This plan is formulated from the upper level downward and the lower level upward with the aims of insuring the unity of the whole and setting the direction to be taken in basic tasks of a national nature while fully developing the potentials and increasing the autonomy of basic business units. The state assigns legally binding norms on primary products to those units which have all the conditions needed to do business in these products on a normal basis. It assigns norms on the total realized value of output and payments to the budget. In addition, the enterprise is permitted to produce and market secondary products that are not on the list of products managed by the state. The enterprise possesses financial autonomy, which includes the authority to create capital, utilize sources of capital and establish the various enterprise funds.

Within the planned business mechanism, part of the mechanism is "hard" and part is "soft," part is compulsory and part depends upon the capabilities of the enterprise, part is laws which must be obeyed and part is the freedom to make choices within prescribed limits.

Recently, two tendencies have emerged in business within our country. One is planning based on bureaucratic centralism, which seeks to have the state decide everything and control everything, even the smallest details, the consequences of which are to restrict the business autonomy of the enterprise and nullify the moving force that is interests. The other tendency, which arose in the face of the economy's difficulties and the ineffective approach to management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, has been to allow things to drift and give the enterprise virtually exclusive authority over its business. Had this tendency become practice, the inevitable consequences would have been spontaneity, anarchy and competition in business and a slide into the orb of market socialism. Resolution 306 (draft) on the business autonomy of basic economic units corrected both of these incorrect

tendencies and insures that the state plan plays the dominant role while providing broader autonomy to basic units. The important issue now is to establish a system of well coordinated policies consistent with the spirit of this resolution.

On the one hand, business must comply with the state plan. On the other hand, the state plan must be based on business. Business efficiency must be the standard upon which the plan projects which basic units and products will be developed, in which sectors investments will be made on a priority basis, how the structure of the economy will be built, etc. At the same time, while balancing the resources needed for business units to implement their plan, we must not make use of state subsidies. "The State Planning Commission must be the general staff for socialist business and the state plan must be the socialist business plan of the entire country" (Le Duan).

d) Each business activity must be based on the principle of economic accounting. This is the backbone of socialist business. After receiving some means of production and initial liquid capital from the state (in the case of state-operated enterprises) or on the basis of the fixed assets and liquid capital contributed by cooperative members through the purchase of shares (in the case of collective production), business units operate on the basis of the principles of meeting their own needs, covering their own costs and using their revenues to pay their costs and earn a profit, not only the basis of state subsidies and the compensation of losses by the upper level, and use the state plan as their guideline and basis of operation. Basic business units must be held materially accountable, must receive material incentives and must possess business autonomy based on the general stipulations of the state as set forth in the plan, leverage policies and the law. These are the fundamentals of economic accounting. An entirely new matter facing us is that business units now not only repay capital, but also supply themselves with capital through capital acquired on their own and through capital borrowed from the bank. Economic contracts on the supplying of raw and other materials, the marketing of products and the borrowing of capital from the bank are the most important measures in the normal operation of enterprises. Under the new regulations of the state, the autonomy of business units has been broadened; at the same time, the centralism of the upper management levels is more rational, is consistent with the specific historical conditions of our country today.

The principles of economic accounting demand that the business unit be sensitive to economic efficiency and be able to develop optimum ways and methods of operation in order to meet and exceed the plan. The enterprise and the worker will benefit when labor productivity is raised, production costs are reduced and the output and quality of products are increased. Therefore, economic accounting is the best way to combine the various economic interests, is the best method for implementing the law of economizing on work time--the number one economic law even in socialist production. It is meaningless and completely irrelevant to talk about socialist business but to ignore or give light attention to economic accounting.

FOOTNOTES

- \* This is also the thinking of the authors of "The Economic System of Socialism," who include many famous scientists of the Soviet Union (Economics Publishing House, Moscow, 1984). "The economic mechanism under socialism is the system through which planned socialist business is conducted as a unified entity with the aims of systematically improving the welfare of the people and bringing about the comprehensive development of each and every member of society and constantly raising the socio-economic returns from social production on the basis of continuously raising the level of development of production in terms of both quantity and quality and perfecting socialist production relations."

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIALIST BUSINESS AND CAPITALIST BUSINESS

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[Article by Pham Thanh]

[Text] Business is an economic category that is closely associated with commodity-money relations and the law of value. In every mode of production, as long as commodity production and the law of value exist as objective entities within this production system, business exists as a method of economic activity. The purpose of business is to realize economic interests under the conditions of commodity production. The small-scale commodity producer engaged in business in order to trade, at equal prices, a portion of the product produced by him for a portion of the product of another person necessary to satisfy his needs. However, because commodity production was not universal in nature under small-scale commodity production, business was limited in scope and scale. Under capitalism, the capitalist engages in business in order to earn a profit. Here, commodity production is universal, consequently, business is a universal activity. Under socialism, commodity production still exists. Commodity relations and the law of value still exist. Therefore, socialist business must become a universal economic activity in order to realize the interests of socialism. But what is socialist business? There are still many vague ideas and concepts concerning this question, which have led recently to many aberrations in business practices, some of which even go against the very nature of socialism. Therefore, we must shed light on this category in order to help correct these misconceptions and these incorrect practices.

As an economic activity, business is, of necessity, conducted in accordance with economic laws and controlled by economic laws. These economic laws, most importantly the fundamental economic law, determine the goals, substance and mode of business.

The fundamental economic law of capitalism is the law of surplus value, the external manifestation of which is the law of profit. Under the impact of this law, capitalist business is the activity conducted by the capitalist to realize the profit he requires. If a profit is not earned, business loses all meaning.

Conversely, the fundamental economic law of socialism is to satisfy the constantly rising material and spiritual needs of society and each member of society by developing production on the basis of collective ownership and an increasingly developed system of technology. The impact of this law makes socialist business fundamentally different from capitalist business. The socialist state and its economic organizations conduct business in order to meet the requirements of this law by applying the law of value in a manner coordinated with the system of special laws of socialism.

The failure to recognize this essential difference is the cause of the following two incorrect tendencies:

One is the tendency to deny the necessity for business under socialism. Persons who think this consider all business to be capitalist business. They are afraid to talk about business. To them, there is but one lawful economic activity: an economic activity conducted in accordance with the plan in order to create use value.

The second of these tendencies is to do business in the capitalist way. The proponents of this approach maintain that once you begin talking about engaging in business, you must pursue a profit. And, to realize a profit, they will employ any method, even if it is alien to socialism.

Since state subsidies were criticized and due to the absence of a correct model of socialist business, some persons have fallen into this second tendency and begun doing business in the capitalist way, even to the extent of adopting the goals, practices and mode of capitalist business. The reasons for the emergence of this tendency are two: having lived for many years under the old system, some persons became accustomed to the old style of business and only know how to do business in this way. Secondly, under the impact of capitalist and other private economic relations, which are still permitted to exist, other persons have abandoned the principles of socialism in favor of the capitalist way of doing business. In practice, these styles of business have given rise to numerous negative phenomena and chaos within our economy. Negative phenomena and chaos are inevitable when the activities of socialist economic organizations do not consciously comply with the laws of socialism but spontaneously occur in accordance with the laws of a non-socialist economy and are contrary to the nature of socialism.

Socialist business differs from capitalist business because it is conducted upon an economic base that is fundamentally different from the capitalist economic base, consequently, it is, of necessity, governed by economic laws that are completely different than the economic laws of capitalism. Based on public ownership of the means of production and designed to meet the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, socialist business differs from capitalist business in every respect: the owners of businesses, the goals of business, business practices and the mode of business.

Below, let us examine each of these aspects.

1. The owners of businesses.

Under capitalism, the owners of businesses are private individuals. Each is separated from the other, neither knows the other and each is opposed to the other. Under socialism, the owners of businesses are collectives of laboring people represented by the state and its economic organizations on the national level, within each locality and at each basic unit.

The laboring people exercise collective ownership on the three fundamental levels in accordance with the principle that the three levels of ownership are organically linked together within the entity that is the system of collective ownership. Therefore, the business activities conducted on the three levels are also organically linked together within the entity that is the national economy of which the laboring people are the masters.

Under capitalism, each capitalist does business in one or a number of elements of social production and reproduction, such as production, distribution, circulation and marketing, or ties together all the elements related to one or a number of certain products but never embraces all elements of reproduction on a society-wide scale.

Under socialism, in business activities, the state, as the representative of society, must embrace all elements of reproduction. It must do business on a society-wide scale in order to develop each potential that lies in arable land, natural resources, means of production and labor with the aim of bringing prosperity to the country. Every locality, sector and economic unit must develop each of its potentials in order to develop its economy and contribute to the development of the economy of the entire country. The business activities of the localities, sectors and units are an inseparable part of the society-wide business activities of the state.

## 2. The goals of business.

The capitalist does business in order to earn a profit. The capitalist jumps in wherever there are high profits to be gained. If there is a business in which profits are high, the capitalist goes into it. He does whatever it takes to earn a high profit. The profits of each capitalist are opposed to the interests of society, of other capitalists and antagonistic toward the interests of the worker. Therefore, of the two different aspects of commodities, namely, their value and use value, the capitalist attaches importance to value. Value is his goal. Use value is only the means for achieving this goal. Even if a profit has a use value that meets a vital need of man, the capitalist will not do business in this product if it generates a small profit. Conversely, capitalists will compete against one another to produce a product that is harmful to the life of man, such as nuclear bombs, military aircraft and missiles, if this product yields a high profit.

Socialist business, on the other hand, attaches importance to use value and value. The fundamental economic law of socialism requires that the material and spiritual needs of the laboring people be met. Therefore, the number one goal of socialist business is to create much use value with which to meet these needs. These needs set the direction of business for socialist economic organizations. They must do business in a product even if its value is low but it is in high demand by society. Conversely, socialism restricts business

in any product that yields a high profit but which does not have an important use value in the life of society.

Even a product that must be subsidized but for which there is a need in society is the object of socialist business. This does not mean, however, that socialism conducts economic activities regardless of the cost. In the creation of use value, the socialist economy attaches importance to productivity, quality and efficiency and seeks to create much use value of high quality and through the lowest possible consumption of labor (living labor and materialized labor). It is mainly for this reason that socialist business attaches importance to value.

Socialist business uses value as the measurement of economic efficiency in the creation of the use values needed by society. Profit is not the final goal of socialist business. It is only considered the means employed by socialist business to achieve its goal: use value. The profits earned do not go into the pockets of individuals, but belong to society, to the collective of laboring people and are distributed in accordance with the requirement of the unity of the three interests: the interests of society, the interests of the economic unit and the interests of the individual laborer. It is in this sense that profit becomes a moving force behind economic activities.

### 3. The nature and practices of socialist business.

In light of the facts presented above, we see that the nature and practices of socialist business are fundamentally different from the nature and practices of capitalist business.

Capitalist business is an essential activity of capitalism, is a living manifestation of capitalism. When talking about capitalism, we are talking about business. There is not one capitalist who is not in business. Business is the movement of capitalism. It is only through this movement, that is, only through profitable business, that the fundamental economic law of capitalism is expressed.

The substance of capitalist business is, in the final analysis, the exploitation of the surplus value of the laborer. The capitalist engaged in direct production exploits the surplus labor of the worker. Through their business activities, the capitalists in commerce and banking share surplus value with the capitalist in production in accordance with the law of average profit margin.

T-H-T' is the basic formula of capitalist business.

Socialist business is only an economic activity through which commodity-money relations and the law of value are applied to support the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism. This movement can only be the movement of a planned economy designed to support the lives of the laboring people. Socialist business is only an auxiliary form--although essential--of this movement.

The substance of socialist business is the use of value and economic categories closely associated with value, namely, prices, profits and money, as the means for achieving the objective, use value.

#### 4. The socialist mode of business.

By its very nature, socialist business is completely different from capitalist business.

Capitalist business is the laissez faire business of private capitalists operating spontaneously in accordance with the law of supply and demand on the market. It is carried out by exploiting the labor of workers and other laborers. The greater the exploitation of labor, the larger is the profit reaped by the capitalist. Therefore, the capitalist employs every conceivable method to exploit workers and laborers, specifically, to exploit surplus value, in both relative and absolute terms.

Capitalist business is carried out even by means of fraud in order to exploit consumers: deceptive advertising and many clever tricks aimed at stimulating demand...

It is carried out amidst bitter competition among capitalists, the rules of this competition being "survival of the fittest" and "big fish eat little fish." To compete against one another, capitalists resort to every conceivable trick in every field of activity: competition in products, competition in the marketplace, competition in the application of technology and competition in the setting of prices. They look for every way to defeat their adversary in order to monopolize the market, sources of raw materials and sources of manpower and, in this way, reap the largest possible profit. Competition leads to monopoly. The purpose of a monopoly is to strengthen one's competitive position.

All these modes are alien to socialist business.

Socialist business is business organized in accordance with the plan. Business guidelines are established in the state plan, a plan that is legally binding. The measures employed in business are guided by socio-economic policies that correctly reflect the requirements of objective laws and economic interests.

The basic measure employed in socialist business is economic accounting. On the basis of correct economic-technical norms and quotas, socialist business employs economic accounting to insure returns from capital. By means of economic accounting, socialist business focuses attention on organizing labor, applying science and technology and making improvements to economic management in order to constantly increase the productivity, quality and efficiency of business. By means of economic accounting, socialist business insures that the three interests are combined in a way that is well balanced: the interests of society, of the collective and the individual laborer and, in the final analysis, the interests of each and every member of society. Economic accounting is the consistent application of the number one law of the socialist economy: the law of economization, economizing on both embodied

labor and living labor in order to create many products to serve the needs of man.

In place of competition, socialist business is carried out by means of socialist emulation, a measure that combines economic interests with inspirational examples and appropriate administrative measures. Among business units, there is not competition, but emulation and the combination of self-reliance with cooperation and mutual assistance. Any unit that does business well is a unit which, in terms of interests, receives more, as does its members. In socialist business, there are no trade secrets, no pressuring of one another, only trade and the dissemination of experience.

The owners, goals, substance and mode of socialist business as described above are the results, not of subjective desires, but objective economic relations and the special economic laws of socialism. To do business correctly, it is necessary to clearly recognize these relations. Otherwise, we will do business in the spontaneous, capitalist way, go against the interests of socialism and harm the cause of socialist construction.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: CONCERNING SOCIALIST BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 73-79, 72

[Article by Ho Te]

[Text] I. Socialist Business

Business is an economic category closely associated with commodity production. Business only emerges when the commodity production of society is born. The scope and scale of business grow as commodity production develops.

Understood in this light, business is clearly an activity that has the aim of carrying out the various stages of the commodity production process in accordance with the formula:  $T-H-SX-H'-T'$ . Examined from a financial perspective, it is also the activity through which the business cycle is carried out. To do business, the businessman must invest money to purchase means of production and hire labor, produce a quantity of commodities and put these commodities on the market in order to earn money with which to carry out a new production cycle. The money earned ( $T'$ ) must always be greater than the amount of money invested ( $T$ ). This is the objective of business and also a requirement of commodity production planning. Because, only when  $T'$  is larger than  $T$  is it possible to insure that all costs are paid and a profit is earned. This is the prerequisite to expanded reproduction. This demands that every businessman must make calculations so that the costs he incurs, his production costs, are always lower than the selling price, that is, always smaller than the income from the marketing of these products. Therefore, the businessman must always concern himself with supply and demand, the market, production costs, prices, profit and so forth, that is, concern himself with the value categories of commodity production.

The general process described above occurs in both capitalist business and socialist business. However, essential differences exist between capitalist business and socialist business.

Capitalist business is carried out on the basis of private ownership of the means of production. Consequently, the goal of capitalist business is to earn maximum profits by exploiting increasingly large amounts of surplus value in order to make the capitalist wealthy. Spontaneity, anarchy, laissez faire competition, "big fish eating little fish"...are the basic features of

capitalist business. Monopolizing a business, speculating, monopolizing the market, devaluing currency and so forth are tactics and methods of capitalist business. In present day, developed capitalism, although bourgeois administrations and capitalist monopolies have been and are taking many sophisticated measures to conceal the exploitation carried out by capitalist business (such as self-management, trade union participation in enterprise management, profit sharing and so forth), the essential features of capitalism described above remain unchanged.

In contrast to capitalist business, socialist business is conducted on the basis of public ownership of the means of production and has the goal of satisfying the constantly rising material and cultural needs of all society as well as each member of society by continuously developing production and applying scientific-technical advances. The distinguishing characteristics of socialist business are:

- + Business is conducted in accordance with a comprehensive plan (products, the volume and quality of products, product supply and marketing, production costs, prices, profits...are planned).
- + The mode of socialist business is economic accounting. Through economic accounting, the principle of democratic centralism is implemented.
- + Socialist cooperation, which is practiced through contract relations, cooperation, federation, joint business, economic ties and so forth on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.
- + Frugality is considered a national policy. Frugality as well as economic, technical, organizational and other measures are employed to reduce production costs and insure that all costs are paid and increasing profits are earned. Importance is attached to economic efficiency. Economic efficiency is the measurement of the quality and standards of business of each unit as well as the entire national economy.
- + Unity of the three interests: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer, paramount among which are the interests of society.

Thus, socialist business must comply with the economic laws of socialism, most importantly the fundamental economic law and the law of planned development, and also apply the laws of commodity production, most importantly the law of value. In socialist business, compliance with the economic laws of socialism and the application of the laws of commodity production are of very important theoretical and practical significance. It is from here that differing views emerge and form in economic management. If we only lean toward complying with the economic laws of socialism but give light attention to or disregard applying the laws of commodity production, socialist business will become constrained, rigid and lacking in dynamism and creativity, the results of which can only be stagnation, slow development and low economic efficiency. Conversely, if we only lean toward applying the laws of commodity production but give light attention to or disregard the economic laws of socialism, socialist business will take the wrong direction and no longer be socialist.

business. The goal of business will have changed, spontaneity and anarchy will take the place of planning and unity, laissez faire competition will take the place of socialist cooperation.

Socialist business and economic accounting have the same goal: insuring that the highest possible economic efficiency is achieved in production through the principle of democratic centralism. However, these are two separate categories whose scope and substance differ. Socialist business is a broad, society-wide economic category. It places the business activities of each basic unit within an entity encompassing the relations among the different stages in the process of social reproduction (production, distribution-trade-consumption) and well-coordinated approaches in the other areas, such as production costs, prices, financing, credit, monetary policy, the distribution of labor, economic contracts, etc. Economic accounting, on the other hand, is an economic category that applies only to the enterprise. Its function is to solve the enterprise economic problems of a business unit, of a cell of the socialist economy. Economic accounting and its component factors, namely, production costs, prices, profits and profit margin, the basis of which is quotas, is the practice of thorough frugality, make it possible to cover all costs and earn an increasingly large profit. This is the heart of economic accounting. Economic accounting is practiced within each unit and each element of production to determine the costs and results of each unit and element. Today, we also have sector economic accounting and enterprise internal economic accounting. These are nothing more than the application, to a specific degree, of the principles of enterprise cost accounting for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the operations of sectors and the internal components of the enterprise. This does not mean that economic accounting loses its significance as an enterprise economic category.

Thus, socialist business encompasses economic accounting, which is considered a method, a means of business for each unit, each cell of the economy.

From this, we can conclude that, from the standpoint of the individual enterprise, it can be said: "An enterprise that does business on the basis of economic accounting" is an enterprise that practices socialist business. But, from the standpoint of the entire national economy, we must say "practices both economic accounting and socialist business."

In economic management in our country, there are some misconceptions and incorrect views concerning socialist business, such as the following:

1. Some persons forget that the foundation of socialist business is public ownership of the means of production. As a result, they maintain that the material-technical bases, assets and capital turned over by the state to enterprises for them to manage and use are the separate, "self-acquired" material-technical bases, assets and capital of the enterprise. This thinking leads to two clear results:

First, because they are the separate material-technical bases, assets and capital of the enterprise, the enterprise has the right to utilize them as it sees fit with the state only needing to know that it has received the full

quantity of products due it and the budget payments required of the enterprise.

Secondly, because they are the separate material-technical bases, assets and capital of the enterprise, the interests of the enterprise's collective become the interests of paramount importance, followed by the interests of the individual laborer and, lastly, by the interests of society as represented by the state.

Both of these results are contrary to the character of socialist business.

2. From the mistake of giving light attention to applying the laws and categories of commodity production, the consequences of which are a contrived, rigid, stagnant, conservative and inefficient style of business lacking in dynamism, some persons have taken another direction, namely, placing too much emphasis on applying the laws of commodity production while giving light attention to the laws of socialism and considering the application of the laws of commodity production (particularly the law of value, the law of supply and demand...) to be an approach that will extricate our national economy from its current state. The trend of development represented by this view is to replace the plan with the marketplace and use the marketplace (the "free" market) as the standard against which the operations of enterprises are adjusted. In practice, this view has given rise to negative phenomena and mistakes, such as a unit freely doing business outside its function, competing in procurements and sales, keeping products back from the market and driving up prices and buying and reselling products in order to earn an income.

3. There is also the tendency to go to the excess and broaden the business autonomy of the enterprise to the point where management is neglected and light attention is given to the centralized and unified leadership by the state of the operations of the various sectors, levels and enterprises. Here, the enterprise has the sole authority to decide everything involved in its business, from the selection of products, markets, prices and so forth to the distribution of products without inspection and control by the state. Every measure aimed at insuring centralized and unified leadership by the state is considered intervention in the business of the enterprise, is viewed as restricting the enterprise... Such a view and thinking can only lead to anarchy in business activity, to disruption of the market and social order.

## II. The Basic Principles of Socialist Business

As is the case in all other fields of activity, the principle of democratic centralism is the dominant principle in socialist business. In accordance with this principle, the business activities of each enterprise, each sector and the entire national economy are placed under the centralized and unified leadership and guidance of the socialist state through the unified national economic plan, policies, procedures and economic levers while showing appropriate respect for the exercise of collective ownership, initiative and creativity by enterprises in their business by giving basic units greater autonomy in their business. The two factors of centralism and democracy must be correctly balanced to suit the specific circumstances that exist during each stage in the process of building and developing the country's economy.

Every convenient and subjective approach to democratic centralism that is not consistent with actual circumstances leads to serious harm.

Therefore, establishing the correct relationship between centralism and democracy in socialist business or in economic management, in general, is a matter of extremely important strategic significance.

Besides the principle of democratic centralism, its dominant principle, the following are also basic principles of socialist business:

--Socialist business is conducted on the basis of the plan and has the plan as its center.

This principle stems from the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism: the laws of planned development. Under this principle, all business activities of each basic unit, each sector, each locality and the entire national economy, which include all elements of business, from products, the output and quality of products, the market supplying raw materials, the market on which products are sold, production costs, prices, profits, profit distribution and so forth, must be planned. The business plan of each basic unit is a component of the unified national economic plan. The principle of business being planned in no way erodes or harms the business autonomy of basic units.

--The socialist business enterprise must cover its own costs through its own income and insure that a profit is earned.

This is a very important principle, a principle without which it is impossible to conceive of business. The principle of paying their own costs and operating a profitable business demands that enterprises, the businessmen of socialism, correctly and fully calculate the costs incurred in business, truly concern themselves with calculating the economic returns from business plans and display dynamism and creativity in researching the application of ways to improve and rationalize the organization of business, in making technological improvements and applying new technologies and so forth in order to cut costs, raise labor productivity and, on this basis, earn increasingly large profits. To implement this principle, enterprises must concern themselves with such matters as the market, prices, profit and so forth.

Socialist business must insure the formation and centralization of capital and accelerate the turnover of capital in order to achieve increasingly high economic returns. This principle demands that enterprises, on the basis of operating a profitable business, accumulate increasingly large amounts of capital from within the national economy, thus insuring that the capital formed is centralized to meet the needs to expand and upgrade equipment in the business of each enterprise while insuring that the expanded reproduction needs of the entire national economy are met better with each passing day.

--Socialist business must combine the three interests in a way that is well balanced: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. This principle demands that, in their production and business, enterprises always give their attention to the three

interests. Whatever is done in the interest of the state must also be in the interests of the enterprise's collective and the individual laborer. If more attention is given to the interests of society than to the interests of the collective and the individual laborer, the laboring masses will lose their interest and enthusiasm in work and not concern themselves with the results and efficiency of the enterprise's production. The situation that has surrounded economic management in our country for many years proves this. Conversely, if more attention is given to the interests of the collective and the individual laborer than to the interests of society, selfishness, partiality, localism and sometimes even crimes will result.

Combining the three interests in a way that is well balanced in socialist business is a demand of production and a strong force stimulating production.

--Socialist business establishes all economic relations on the basis of the principles of socialist cooperation, equality and mutual benefit. These principles are completely alien to the capitalist business principles of competition, pressure and "big fish eating little fish." Under socialism, together with the objective needs of production, socialist cooperation, equality and mutual benefit make it possible for cooperative relations, federation, joint businesses and economic ties to form in a wholesome and effective manner.

### III. The Conditions Needed for Socialist Business

To practice socialist business in accordance with the principles set forth above, certain conditions are required:

1. The key prerequisite to socialist business is that planning must be constantly improved. Here, planning refers not to determining the magnitude of legally binding norms or the methods of calculating plan norms, but goes beyond the significance of setting the direction of everyday enterprise operations. Here, the basic and most important matter is to establish a rational economic structure in each stage of development of the country and developing the strength of each sector, each locality and territory on the basis of specialization and cooperation in the division of labor. Once a rational economic structure has been established, it is necessary to restructure production on the scale of the entire national economy as well as within each sector, locality and basic unit and establish organizational models of basic economic units (for corporations, federated enterprises and so forth) that are as rational as possible and of appropriate size so that it can be guaranteed that business is conducted as efficiently as possible. In conjunction with reorganizing production at basic units, it is necessary to re-examine and streamline the business ministries and take steps to insure that the administrative-economic management of basic units by the ministries is improved.

On the basis of restructuring production, the state must give priority to providing necessary production conditions (such as raw materials, energy, better equipment and so forth) to key units and for the production of key products. At the same time, it must adopt correct policies that provide incentive for the production of other products and encourage other units to

develop sources of supplies and raw materials on their own, to meet their own needs for raw materials and supplies, etc.

2. A new and appropriate management mechanism must be established for basic production units. The new management mechanism must guarantee broader autonomy on the part of basic units in their business operations, dismantle administrative management and state subsidies and truly bring about business based on the principle of retaining all profits and bearing all losses after fulfilling obligations to the state (concerning products and payments that must be delivered and made to the state). Managing production operations to achieve established objectives is the work of the enterprise. The state and the concerned agencies on the upper levels provide administrative-economic management of the enterprise through the plan, through policies and systems and through inspection and control work. In no case do the state and the concerned agencies on the upper levels intervene in the business management of the enterprise. In this spirit, the new management mechanism thoroughly reflects and puts into practice the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of the enterprise paying its own costs and operating a profitable business and the other principles of socialist business. This mechanism closely ties the interests and responsibility of the enterprise to the results of its production operations.

3. There must be an improved price system along with a management policy that is implemented in a strict and uniform manner from the central level to the localities and basic units. This improved price system must insure that enterprises are able to buy and able to sell and insure that they can cover their costs and earn a profit under normal business conditions. This improved price system must reflect a rational relationship among the products of the different production sections, most importantly between industry and agriculture, thereby insuring that prices are truly the measurement of the results and efficiency of business in each type product and by each enterprise and production sector.

4. The financial autonomy of the enterprise in business must be established. This is done by clearly defining the authority and responsibility, the obligations and rights of the enterprise in production with the aim of tapping the dynamism and creativity of the enterprise in order to achieve increasingly high business efficiency.

The establishment of the financial autonomy of the enterprise must thoroughly reflect the basic principles of socialist business. This autonomy must begin in planning, begin with the formulation of plans from the basic level upward, and extend to granting autonomy to the enterprise in preserving capital, carrying out capital formation and utilizing the various types of fixed and liquid capital. The financial autonomy of the enterprise is also expressed in initiating accounting practices, establishing and utilizing the various funds, including the foreign currency fund, establishing the right to use foreign currency, etc.

Establishing financial autonomy for the enterprise is a basic part of the new management mechanism, is the prerequisite to putting this new mechanism into practice. Because, in the final analysis, under the conditions of commodity

production, every business activity of the enterprise is expressed in money and through commodity-money relations.

5. It is necessary to establish and improve the system of economic-technical quotas and standards supporting production and economic-financial management. Under the conditions of socialist business, the system of economic-technical quotas and standards must be a unified system consisting of state, sector (local) and enterprise quotas and standards that are established, approved and promulgated in accordance with the procedures and regulations of the state. There must be strict and uniform compliance with this system of economic-technical quotas and standards on the scope of the entire national economy. This system must be used as the basis upon which production activities are carried out and business is managed.

6. There must be a system of accurate, faithful, thorough and timely bookkeeping, statistics and economic information in order to provide a full and prompt supply of information and data to support the coordination of production and the economic-financial management of each basic unit, each sector and the entire national economy.

#### IV. The Urgent Steps That Must Be Immediately Taken in Order for Enterprises To Truly Practice Socialist Business Under the Conditions of Our Country Today

As mentioned above, socialist business requires that certain conditions exist. In our opinion, on the basis of the actual situation that exists today, the following steps must be taken in the immediate future:

1. On the basis of the economic structure that has been established for it, each sector and locality must conduct an inventory; restructure basic economic units in accordance with the models that have been selected; establish a thorough division of labor and responsibilities in production based on the product line between the central level and the locality, between the state-operated sector and the collective sector; classify and rank basic economic units; and strengthen the organization of production and the management organization so that units can operate in exact accordance with enterprise statutes.

2. On the basis of restructuring, classifying and ranking economic units, we must redeploy and restructure the labor force of each sector and locality in a manner consistent with the production task of each unit. Accelerated steps must be taken to thoroughly utilize or liquidate materials, equipment and assets which are lying idle or not needed and write off various types of debts that have gone unpaid and been carried over from one year to the next in order to upgrade the existing production capacity of enterprises. On this basis, materials, equipment and assets must be turned over to enterprises to manage and use in the spirit of autonomy in business and financial autonomy.

3. We must complete the promulgation of well coordinated policies and procedures based on the requirements and substance of the new management mechanism. Efforts must be focused on guiding the implementation of these policies and procedures in all sectors, localities and basic units. In the process of guiding implementation, we must uncover problems, conduct

preliminary and final reviews and gain experience in order to refine these policies and procedures and make them official at the start of the next year (under a program of the Council of Ministers). Among these policies and procedures, special attention must be given to the following elements with the aim of guaranteeing the business autonomy of basic units: planning, the supplying of materials and energy for production, financial autonomy, exports and imports...

4. We must continue to study and deal with the problems of prices, wages and money in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions and conclusions of the Political Bureau. Prices, wages and money are pressing problems in business, everyday life and the other activities of society. Efforts must be focused on resolving these problems well. These are problems which relate to the new management mechanism. At the same time, they are general problems of economic, political and social significance.

5. We must restore order and discipline in economic-financial management within each unit, sector and locality. We must strengthen the socialist system of law. We must reorganize and improve accounting and inspection procedures in order to gradually curb and eventually put an end to negative phenomena in business.

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## FRONTLINE TROOPS AND THE TASKS OF PRODUCING AND BUILDING THE ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 80-82

[Article by Bui The Tam]

[Text] Among the various strategic regions of the country, the mountains and midlands of the North are a region of key importance. It is a region of large potentials in many fields: forestry, industrial crops, livestock production, energy and minerals. However, because the division of labor and the communications-transportation network as well as cultural and technical standards are still limited in many respects, these potentials have not been developed much. This is a major disadvantage for the entire country and for the region. Today, to meet the pressing requirements of our new tasks, we possess new capabilities that we can employ to accelerate socio-economic development in a way combined with strengthening the national defense system within this vital region. Our people, the people of the different ethnic groups, desire nothing more than to live in tranquility, to "make our country grander and more beautiful" and to be well fed, well clothed and educated. These are legitimate and realistic desires. Moreover, never before has our army been as strong in this region as it is today. We must utilize this force as both the main, central force in defending the frontline of the fatherland and the main, central force in productive labor and economic construction. Therefore, our troops along the northern border have a noble responsibility: maintaining combat readiness and fighting to firmly defend each bit of soil of the fatherland; working and producing to bring prosperity to the country's frontier; and joining the people of the various ethnic groups in making both the economy and national defense forces strong, thereby making a worthy contribution to the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Having economic construction troops working in the region means closely tying labor to arable land and local resources, defense plans to production and economic construction plans and the manpower of the army to the various sectors and localities within unified planning and plans for the purpose of insuring that troops maintain combat readiness and fight well and also participate in production and economic construction well. The more good economic work they perform, the better able they are to maintain combat readiness and fight well, and vice versa.

Tested in practice over a period of many years, the forces of the army in this region have been focusing on the following three economic targets:

First, they have been producing food products locally with the aim of serving the daily needs of troops and gradually reducing the need for costly transportation from the rear. The principal measures for achieving this target are to accelerate livestock production, crop production and processing.

At many places, as a result of the development of livestock and poultry production, mainly buffalo, cattle, hogs, goats, rabbits, fish and so forth, a widespread animal husbandry system based on the VAC model (truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry) has been established at detachments, at stations and farms and within the military corps. Economic-technical measures, particularly in the areas of young livestock, livestock feed and the prevention and control of livestock epidemics, have been applied in a well coordinated and sound manner. Production is gradually developing toward large-scale, socialist production.

In food crop production, particularly the production of oil bearing crops, such as beans, peanuts, sesame and candlenut, and other food crops, such as sugarcane, tea, coffee, tobacco and so forth, many places have also established a system of basic production units consisting of gardens in detachments and agricultural production farms within the military corps. Scientific-technical advances have been introduced in farming, particularly in water conservancy, seed production, fertilizer production and the construction of fields. A model has been established which closely coordinates crop and livestock production. Crops are raised to provide food for humans and feed for livestock and livestock are raised to provide fertilizer for crops. In the detachments, this model takes the form of truck farming-pisciculture-animal husbandry. In the military corps, it is basic production units that combine livestock and crop production. As a result of this coordination, full use is made of every product produced and nothing is wasted. Processing, which is a very necessary part of grain and food product production, is still not being done at many other places. In this region, however, troops have made many efforts to increase the value and use value of the products they produce. In view of the plans that exist for developing the hydroelectric power network, processing and milling will be easier to carry out and yield high economic returns.

Secondly, manpower of the army has been used to build and develop centralized basic agricultural and forestry production units that will remain in production and business on a permanent basis in areas in which there is a need to combine the economy and national defense. These are vital points along strategic East-West roads, defense bases, rear bases, etc. At these places, basic economic units have been established. Their establishment has been planned and they operate in accordance with a plan. While some of these units are small, most began as medium-size units. To develop a solid defense system at these places, troops must be the central force in building basic socio-economic units that are well developed. This process of development is: at the start, the unit is both a defense base and a basic production unit which combines agriculture and forestry. When it comes time to harvest industrial crops, labor from the surrounding population is drawn in to develop and expand the area into a large-scale, specialized farming area. Depending upon the strengths and planning of each place, correct production guidelines are established for each basic unit. These mainly entail developing the

production of special product industrial crops, fiber crops and fruit crops of high economic value, tree crops that provide timber and firewood... These basic agro-forestry economic units are state-operated units that are built, managed and operated by the army in accordance with the state plan. These units practice economic accounting and apply the current procedures and policies of the state. Developing the northern mountain economy demands that production be efficiently organized and that the economic-technical management apparatus be specialized, streamlined and capable of mobilizing troops to participate on a seasonal basis. While the staff of this apparatus must be streamlined, the forces mobilized by it must be large. Only the army has the conditions needed to organize this appropriate style of production.

Thirdly, army units have been actively participating in the construction of infrastructure facilities supporting the economy and national defense. The army has undertaken the construction of strategic roads, roads within large industrial zones, local roads, and campaign and tactical roads coordinated with the civilian economy; undertaken the construction of economic-technical centers within districts; and undertaken the development of plants that combine hydroelectric power production and water conservancy, thereby helping to promote intensive cultivation and multicropping and helping to increase the output of grain in order to meet local needs. The army is also operating mines, particularly mining coal by appropriate methods, thus actively contributing to the development of the mining industry. The army is capable of producing local building materials, including valuable building materials, with which to meet the needs of the state, the needs of the people and its own needs.

Today, constructing many projects and producing many products locally with high productivity, quality and efficiency are the most urgent requirement of the party, the most fervent aspiration of the people and the most pressing demand of troops in the northern mountains and midlands. Therefore, our army, an army with fine traditions, an army whose ranks are young, able-bodied and educated in both academic and technical subjects, an army that has a tightly structured command organization and relatively stable rear service support, must be the main, central force in building the northern mountain economy. It must join with the people of the various ethnic groups to put into practice the slogan "the army and civilians sharing a single will in defense and construction, standing firm on the frontline, working hard to achieve prosperity and being determined to win victory."

In order to be able to fulfill this noble and weighty responsibility, it is necessary to conduct a full review of the successes and failures of frontline troops in economic construction in the recent past and promptly introduce changes in thinking and in the actions taken. At the same time, local party committees and administrations and the sectors on the central level must concern themselves with coordinating with and assisting these troops. This will also create favorable conditions for truly developing the role of the troop forces in this important strategic region, forces that have never been as strong as they are today.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD: WAGING A DETERMINED FIGHT AGAINST INDIVIDUALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 83-84

[Article by Nguyen Tien Cang, Hanoi]

[Text] Our party is currently conducting self-criticism and criticism and has achieved a number of good results. Many party organizations have uncovered mistakes and adopted measures to correct these mistakes. However, these are only initial results. We must continue to struggle to correct shortcomings and weaknesses as we move ahead.

Everyone also knows that since our party assumed power nationwide, beside the development of socialism, individualism has also rapidly spread and rightism has become quite serious. When we were at war, the attacks by the enemy were frontal attacks. The frontlines were assaulted first. Now, the enemy's targets are the rear area, are places that could have once been called invulnerable. They are sniping at and trying to poison each member, each component of the party in order to eventually weaken the party and reduce the confidence the masses have in it. During the period from the 2nd Congress to the 3rd Congress of the Party (1951-1960), our party lost hundreds of thousands of members. It was a period of very difficult and bitter challenges. But the revolutionary spirit of the masses and the prestige of the party were very high back then. Thus, we could say that they were "lost but still here." Now, at a time when the rest of our huge corps is struggling with selfless dedication for the sake of the noble cause of the party, of the fatherland, some party members have become deviant and degenerate. Although these members remain in the party, they have been "lost" and this loss is more painful, more dangerous. In the past, we maintained that negative phenomena were only disorders on the party's surface. Now, they have penetrated and seriously harmed the party's body. Individualism is emerging among many persons and is a dangerous enemy of our party. We hear talk about new "village strongmen" in the countryside, new "tribal chiefs" in the mountains, and must also examine the possibility of there being new "bourgeoisie" in the cities.

With the party leading the administration in building socialism, the struggle to resolve the question of "who triumphs over whom" that exists between the two paths is as sharp within each of us as it is in society. Individualism

certainly cannot win victory over us but it has caused some comrades to fall by the wayside, even comrades who were once as strong as steel are now being worn down. Individualism, as Uncle Ho said, is a very shrewd and cunning enemy. It can assume an endless variety of sophisticated forms in every field of social life. Politically, it sows the seeds of opportunism. Ideologically, it poisons man and causes him to go around in circles pursuing fame and wealth, pursuing ordinary material pleasures, from clothing, houses and automobiles to unwholesome forms of amusement, embezzlement, accepting bribes, going into trade to earn a profit... In terms of a person's style, it causes persons to be servile and unfaithful toward others. It breeds infidelity, infidelity to superiors, infidelity to the masses, infidelity even to oneself. It causes persons to become base, to live life by flattering and deceiving others, to like persons who flatter them but hate persons who are forthright, to create factions and divisions, to be partial and practice localism, to consider material interests their only motive and to view the use of their power as their only method of leading others. As a result, they diminish the prestige of the party, impede the development of the revolution, weaken the spirit of comradeship and cause the people to lack confidence. Clearly, individualism is a vicious enemy of socialism, is a peril that can easily cause us to stray from the path of socialism.

To increase the fighting strength of the party and strengthen the masses' confidence in the party, we must wage a constant struggle against individualism and eradicate negative phenomena within the party. We must put an end to all special rights and privileges and resolutely "expel ingratiating opportunists" from the party. On this occasion, each and every party member must be frank with the party, must take a hard look at himself and, on this basis, struggle to make progress. Anyone who feels that he is no longer right for his job should step aside and allow another comrade to move ahead instead of stubbornly refusing to budge, like a chicken on a nest. As regards their personal lives, party members should immediately give back everything to which they are not entitled and stop receiving income which is not earned through their own honest labor. Lenin said that all ways of earning income other than through one's labor are bourgeois ways.

We must eliminate all special rights. We must put an end to the practice of allowing a person to receive all sorts of special favors and be exempt from all obligations because he is "the son of so-and-so." We must stop the practice of using one's public position to squander public funds at will. We must put an end to the practice of "taking from the village to pay tribute to the village chairman." These corrupt practices disturb the people and are being denounced by public opinion.

Individualism is totally incompatible with socialism. Persons whose mindset is that of individualism cannot be used to build socialism. Therefore, the fundamental factors in building the party are to mold socialists and wage a determined struggle to eradicate individualism within the party. This is now a matter of survival to the party and the revolution.

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## BEING DYNAMIC AND PRACTICAL IN THE FACE OF THE NEW REQUIREMENTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 86 pp 85-88, 82

[Article by Vu Tien commemorating the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1981-1986) and the National Day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (1944-1986)]

[Text] During the past 42 years, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the people of Bulgaria have recorded brilliant achievements. Today, they are carrying out even larger tasks in socialist construction.

The Bulgarian Communist Party was one of the first communist parties in the world. It has made significant contributions to the international communist and worker movement. Established in 1891 as the Bulgarian Democratic-Socialist Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party actively participated in the establishment of the Communist International. In May 1919, it changed its name to the Bulgarian Communist Party.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Bulgaria was a backward agricultural country whose working class was still very small. However, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Dimitri Blagoev--the person who introduced Marxism-Leninism in Bulgaria--the proletariat came into being in Bulgaria and assumed its vanguard role in the struggle to advance Bulgaria to socialism. In September 1923, led by the party, the people of Bulgaria rose against the fascists. Following the uprising, communists were ruthlessly suppressed and terrorized but the Bulgarian Communist Party knew how to defend itself and continue to function as a genuine Leninist party. On 9 September 1944, following years and months of difficulties and hardships and with the assistance of the Soviet Red Army, the Bulgarian Communist Party led the people of Bulgaria in an armed uprising and put political power into the hands of the people. With that, the history of Bulgaria entered a new era--the era of socialist construction.

The history of the struggle against fascism and the early period of Bulgaria's advance to socialism were closely associated with the name and career of Georgi Dimitrov--the great son of Bulgaria and an outstanding activist of the international communist and worker movement.

Building socialism in a poor, backward country ravaged by war, such as Bulgaria, is an exceedingly complex and very difficult task. The Bulgarian Communist Party has displayed outstanding talent in this field. Firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, it has adopted revolutionary lines that have been consistent with the conditions of the country in each specific stage. The 1956 April plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was a turning point in the activities of the party. At that plenum, the Bulgarian Communist Party adopted the line on developing a diversified economy. This line has brought about profound changes in all fields of Bulgarian social life and helped Bulgaria to record very large achievements over the past 30 years. Between 1956 and 1986, the fixed capital of the national economy increased from 11.5 billion leva to 112.5 billion leva, a more than 10-fold increase. During the same period, social labor productivity increased 8.4 times, national income 8 times and the value of industrial output 14 times, with the output value of the machine industry increasing 68 times and the chemical industry 45 times. The value of agricultural output increased 2.5 times.

Following more than 40 years of building socialism, the people of Bulgaria have turned their once backward agricultural country into a developed socialist country that has modern industry (in 1944, the ratio between industry and agriculture was 24.7:75.3; today, it is 84:16), a system of large-scale, socialist agricultural production, a progressive culture, progressive science and a progressive system of education. The people of Bulgaria have the right to be proud of their country, a country which ranks 101st in size and 61st in population in the world but leads the world in the per capita production of several products, such as electric powered and automated cargo handling equipment, baked sodium carbonate and cigarettes, and ranks on a par with the advanced countries in the per capita production of such products as electricity, iron ore, coke, brown coal, manmade and synthetic fibers, cereal grains...

Today, the economic and national defense potentials of Bulgaria permit the Bulgarian party and government to constantly raise the standard of living, firmly defend the socialist fatherland and actively participate in international activities aimed at safeguarding peace on earth.

The tasks of the party and people of Bulgaria under the ninth 5-year plan (1986-1990) and during the final 10 years of the 20th century are to create a modern infrastructure supporting production and rebuild the material-technical base of the country on a new and higher level of development consistent with the advances made in the scientific-technological revolution. The specific targets for 1990 are: a 22-25 percent increase in national income, a 25-30 percent increase in labor productivity, a 25-30 percent increase in the value of industrial output and a 6-8 percent increase in the value of agricultural output compared to 1985. By 1990, the standard of living will be raised further. Per capita annual consumption will reach 75-77 kilograms of meat and meat products, 240-280 kilograms of milk and dairy products and 10-11 kilograms of fish and fish products. Every 100 families will have 100-103 television sets, 95-98 washing machines, 98-100 refrigerators, 38-39 automobiles...

Under the new circumstances that prevail today, numerous factors which once created the conditions for economic and social progress have reached the end of their usefulness. Today, the demands of economic progress are more urgent, more comprehensive and higher. In the face of these new demands, the Bulgarian Communist Party is displaying greater dynamism and practicality in its activities.

Bulgaria's economy is being vigorously shifted from development in breadth to development in depth. Priority has been given to strongly developing a number of key sectors, such as the machine manufacturing sector, the electronics and microelectronics industry, the robotics industry and so forth, with the aim of rapidly and widely applying the latest advances of science in order to eventually mechanize and automate the entire production system. Special importance is being attached to the role of the technical sciences. The 1985 February plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party defined the scientific-technological revolution as "the modern key" opening the door to continuous progress. This thinking was further developed at the January 1986 plenum and the 13th Congress (April 1986) of the Bulgarian Communist Party. At the 13th Congress, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, stressed: "Of basic importance to us today is the need to carry out the scientific-technological revolution. This will permit us to develop upon the superior nature of the socialist system to a greater degree, expand the system of socialist democracy and more fully meet the material, social and spiritual needs of the people."(1)

Bulgaria's science has been developing strongly for more than 40 years and has recorded large achievements. At present, Bulgaria has nearly 400,000 cadres who have a college or post-graduate education, 184 scientific research institutes and 29 colleges. In the face of the new requirements, the persons working in science and scientific agencies have been displaying greater dynamism and practicality. The relationship between science and practice is now closer. Science has become a direct production force, one capable of accelerating socio-economic development. In recent years, the influence of the party has been strengthened in scientific centers. The number of party members within intellectual circles and among civil servants has risen rapidly. They make up one-third the total number of party members. The Bulgarian Communist Party is not only stressing the role played by the technical sciences, but has also given special attention to the social sciences. Because they are directly related to the human factor, the social sciences play an enormous role in training the new man with his new way of thinking and new style of working in organizing and managing production and managing society. Today, in Bulgaria, psychologists and sociologists hold important positions within industrial enterprises and economic agencies.

As regards the size of enterprises, Bulgaria has attached importance to building many medium and small-scale enterprises with the aim of establishing a rational structure and relationship among large, medium and small-scale enterprises. In practice, small and medium-scale enterprises have proven to be more efficient because they require little by way of investment capital, can be constructed quickly and, in particular, are able to rapidly apply scientific-technical advances.

The policy of frugality is strictly implemented through concrete and effective measures which apply to both production units and consumers. For example, the Bulgarian Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on "regulations limiting the use of electricity," which apply to each consumer nationwide. Under these regulations, anyone who consumes more than the amount of electricity allowed is fined, for example, their electricity service might be suspended for 10 days. Anyone who consumes less than the amount allowed receives a reduction in electricity charges. In 1985, Bulgaria earned an additional 600 million leva in profits as a result of reducing the consumption of energy and materials.

In Bulgaria, an intense dialogue was conducted between socialist economic organizations and state agencies in the process of formulating the current plan to insure that the interests of the individual, the interests of the collective and the interests of society are combined in a way that is better balanced. Planning has been raised to a new level of development. Its task is to make better use of the economic levers of commodity production and help to develop enterprises, combines and economic federations into self-managing production units. These units have the obligation of carrying out production in a manner consistent with the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution and the needs of the domestic market and international markets from the standpoint of the quantity of products produced, the kinds of products produced and, in particular, product quality. The party and state have taken a series of specific measures to increase the autonomy of basic units and gradually make millions of laborers the managers of production and the managers of social work instead of the subjects of management.

The new requirements demand that the Bulgarian Communist Party take a greater leadership role, and the party has taken a series of specific steps to achieve this. Most importantly, it has mapped out a strategy consistent with the requirements of the times, revised its thinking, improved its methods of leadership and has been attentively listening to and seriously studying the ideas of the working people. The party is an advocate of widespread criticism and self-criticism. Prior to the opening of the 13th Congress, some 264,000 party members expressed their thoughts. Some 150,000 suggestions and criticism were presented to party and state agencies and economic agencies on the central and local levels. The party has been waging a strong and resolute struggle against negative phenomena. The disbanding of the party organization of the largest department store in the capital for the crimes of conspiracy and theft of public property; the disciplinary action taken against high ranking cadres of the cultural sector and the Agro-Industrial Combine Agency for the crime of embezzling public funds; the trial of the son of a high ranking cadre for the crime of blackmarketing...and the reporting of this trial in the press were hailed by the people. The assumption of a greater leadership role by the party has been carried out by increasing the role and responsibility of the party's basic organizations at factories, enterprises, state farms, research institutes and so forth.

The cadre policy has been revamped and refined. Today, cadres are evaluated on the basis of the results of all the work they have performed, not simply on the basis of one mistake or their personal achievements. The party discovers and promotes cadres on the basis of the new requirements of work, through the

practical work performed by cadres and on the basis of observations and evaluations by basic units. Insuring that the management cadres on all levels are highly specialized has become the political issue of foremost importance.

A model of dynamism and practicality was the way in which the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was organized and conducted. Some 2,648 delegates (70 percent of whom were attending their first congress) representing 932,000 party members nationwide assembled in the capital for the congress. Although it lasted only 4 days (from 2 to 5 April 1986), the congress discussed and resolved very many problems. The congress was conducted without ceremony. It began without a salute to the flag, but its atmosphere was still formal. In the course of the congress, not one people's delegation (with the exception of the delegation from the army) came to hail the congress. But the congress was still in close touch with the entire nation because it reflected the aspirations of all the people. Copies of the several hundred page political report were printed in advance and distributed to the delegates but the political report itself was not read at the congress. At the congress, the majority of time was devoted to delegate speeches. Each delegate, from Political Bureau members to workers, was treated equally and given 15 minutes to speak. The new and practical way in which the congress was organized made it possible for the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party to achieve high results and be a fine success.

In the face of the new requirements of the country and the times, the Bulgarian Communist Party realizes that its interests and responsibility lie in international activities. One of the conditions guaranteeing the socio-economic development of Bulgaria is its cooperation in every field with the countries of CEMA, especially the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian Communist Party has conducted many positive activities to help strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and contribute to the struggle to eradicate the nuclear threat and safeguard peace in the world. Bulgaria's peace initiative on making the Balkans a zone free of nuclear weapons has received widespread support in the world.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has experienced 95 years of tenacious, steadfast, brave and creative struggle, the last 42 of which have been spent leading the Bulgarian people in socialist construction, and has recorded very large achievements. The communists and people of Vietnam are confident that, with the broad and valuable experience of nearly 1 century and the tremendous creative capabilities it possesses today, the Bulgarian Communist Party will lead the Bulgarian people in the successful performance of the important tasks set by the 13th Congress. On this occasion, the Communist Party of Vietnam extends to Bulgarian communists and all the people of fraternal Bulgaria our best wishes.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA Newspaper, Russian version, 3 April 1986.

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END

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